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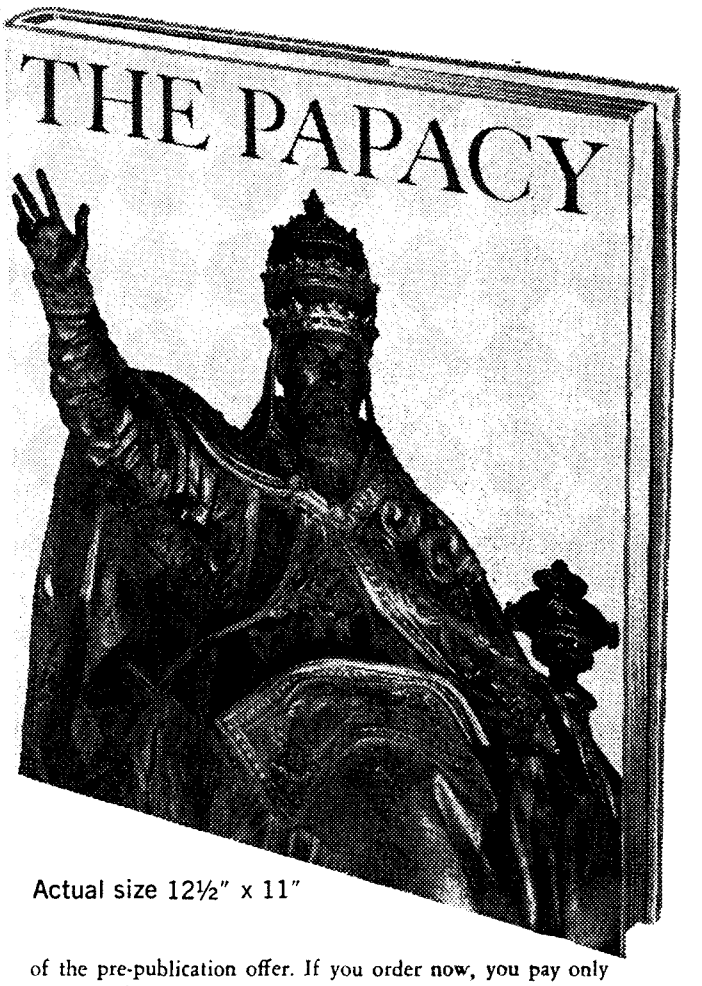

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Great Society

The main advantage of a slogan as vague and general as "the great society" is that everyone can make of it what he pleases. No self-respecting society on earth wants to be anything other than great. No political leader would dare run on a platform which did not imply the possession of a vision of grandeur. Each of us has his own dreams, but they contain a common longing for a way of life which men are able to call great. All of which means that the phrase, "the great society," says practically nothing; or better, that it says nothing until one gives it some content.

As a Catholic journal of opinion, now celebrating its fortieth anniversary, the great society has always meant for us the realization of the commonweal, the common good. We have never been tempted to believe that the good life for the individual can be achieved apart from the good life for all men. Thus we have rejected those economic theories which hold that unfettered competition, based on personal self-interest, will insure a decent living standard for all. Thus we have rejected the belief that each nation should be motivated only by its national interest, as if a balance of jingoistic self-seeking in the world will lead to a peaceful balance of power. Thus we have rejected a concept of states' rights which would have the effect of depriving minority groups of their constitutional and human rights.

That list could easily be extended, but what matters is not the editorial stance of THE COMMONWEAL over the years, but the future of the great society. One thing seems evident: the quality of life within American society cannot be separated from the role that society is to play in the world. A nation dedicated to the proposition that only the material well-being of its own citizens counts will be a selfish nation, liable to corruption from within and a potential threat to other nations. We were happy to see Senator Goldwater defeated. He represented the spirit of the rampantly acquisitive society, a society of atomized individuals each seeking his own good. Not surprisingly, his candidacy lacked all vision of a wholly interdependent world community; foreign aid was to be measured only in terms of America's political interests, not of an ethical stewardship of our nation's great wealth.

Whether the rejection of Senator Goldwater means a rejection of the acquisitive spirit is uncertain; probably not. But at any rate it indicates the possibility of setting the American sights higher. The American people clearly will not accept a candidate whose goals are petty. The people at least want to feel that progress is being made toward justice, toward world peace, toward expanding human horizons. If President Johnson received a mandate, that is most likely where it lies. His mandate is certainly not based on his own popularity (which has never been great), nor is it necessarily based on an approval of all of his programs. If the people do not know exactly where they want to go, they have at any rate said they do not want to go backwards.

In foreign affairs, it need hardly be said, there is an overwhelming desire to find an escape from nuclear terror. Nothing hurt Senator Goldwater so much as the suspicion that he would be irresponsible with the nation's nuclear arsenal. Whether that accusation was just or unjust is beside the point. What counted was the nation's rejection of nuclear saber-rattling. Whatever political mileage there was in the charge that our armed forces might be weaker in the near future, this was more than offset by a fear that our military power might have to be used in an all-out confrontation. The climate ought, then, to be good for further efforts in the direction of a meaningful East-West rapprochement, of fresh steps toward disarmament and of a peaceful solution to outstanding local conflicts.

In domestic matters, there is no stopping the

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Negro drive for equal rights. Many whites are not happy with this drive; given half a chance, they will probably hinder and resist it in the months to come. Even so, racism has gone out of style, and the challenge now is to devise laws and safeguards which can cut through the more subtle forms of opposition bound to develop. Yet the gaining of full rights by no means exhausts the matter. Beyond that lies the urgent need for greater economic opportunity, whether for the poor Negro or the poor white.

Let us now try to set forth in some detail the specific direction we believe the nation's quest for a great society should take, both in its foreign relations and in its domestic policies. Though others could be cited, we want to suggest eight lines of progress.

1. Disarmament

The United States and the U.S.S.R. have been divided by "style" as much as by content in recent disarmament negotiations. The Soviets, accustomed to dealing in five- and ten-year plans, insist on commitment to a comprehensive disarmament scheme before embarking on a first step; anything less smacks of insincerity to them. The U.S., with its pragmatic tradition, distrusts pledges to sweeping disarmament programs as mere propaganda and prefers a step-by-step, trial and error approach. These differences may possibly be transcended by recent events demonstrating the common interest of the U.S. and Russia in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The moral and economic factors which have prevented nuclear proliferation obviously must be reinforced by international agreement. The U.S. should propose the establishment of non-nuclear zones, such as Latin America and Africa, within which the development, stockpiling, and use of nuclear devices would be banned by treaty. Inspection and enforcement machinery (which remains the key problem of any disarmament plan) could be constructed, either independently or through the U.N., thus providing the necessary pragmatic experience on which to base further disarmament agreements.

2. Coexistence

The Communist world remains divided. A number of satellite countries and party cadres in non-Communist lands have now expressed approval of the Khrushchev ouster, but not all. The present attempt to heal the breach between Russia and China has put a stop to the exchange of violent recriminations, but basic differences remain. Immediately there is disagreement on the calling of a world Communist meeting: in the background there is the new Soviet leaders' pledge to continue a coexistence policy which the Chinese continue to denounce in no uncertain terms. There is also bitter contention over Mongolia, and the split in various Communist groups the world over reflects the over-all Russo-Chinese rivalry for leadership of a Communist movement bent on world domination.

Accordingly the American task is to further such independence and such divergences, and to approach each segment of the Communist entity differently. As of now it is Soviet Russia that possesses the industrial might and military strength. The balance of terror dictates "peaceful coexistence." Conciliatory Kremlin policy should lead to reciprocation on our part. And just as the new leaders must come to see that responsible cooperation pays, so Soviet probing for Western weaknesses must be met with firmness on our part. This country does need to take the initiative by proposing to the Soviet Union imaginative agreements that will further world prosperity and peace.

Communist China is the power of the future. Contact must somehow be established between it and the United States. Late as it is, this is a better time to start negotiations rather than later when the Chinese have risen to modern industrial and military strength. But trade restrictions to delay building up of the Chinese arsenal must be continued. Admittedly, a basis for negotiation is hard to come by. Willingness to sign a test-ban treaty or some other meaningful demonstration of Chinese cooperativeness would be a feasible prerequisite. Recognition of the Mao regime will be politically difficult here without something on China's part in return. Even so, some means must be found to start talking.

Toward the satellites, the task appears to be less complicated. The aim is to encourage independence from Moscow and Peking. In some instances, encouragement can take the form of increased trade, but the most promising means all round is a multiplication of cultural exchanges.

3. Technical Assistance

The achievement of independence, economic strength and political stability by underdeveloped nations throughout the world should continue to be a keystone of American policy. This will often involve assistance to non-aligned peoples antagonistic to the United States and, in many cases, to "ungrateful" nations that will not support us in votes in the U.N. As good a formulation as any for expressing America's responsibilities toward, and aspirations for, the world's have-not peoples can be found in the Alliance for Progress, which so far has been realized to an extremely limited extent.

In this connection, America's present threat to refuse to renew its substantial pledges of U.N. tech-

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nical assistance unless Soviet Russia pays up what it owes the United Nations must not be viewed as an effort to reduce American foreign aid. It is primarily a warning to the non-aligned nations to uphold the fundamental rules of the U.N., as the acceptance of a double standard in this matter could be fatal to the growing potentialities of the United Nations for the preservation of world peace.

4. Western Europe

An economically healthy and independent-minded Europe is a reality to which U.S. foreign policy must adjust. The United States must oppose the Gaullist dream of independent deterrents while recognizing its cause: the fear that America will not defend Europe now that Soviet rockets can carry the battle to U.S. rather than European soil. United States commitments to Europe must be strengthened and made concrete without the distribution of nuclear weapons or the stirring of Russian fear of Germany. We should, first, scrap the idea of the multilateral fleet—or, to save face, scale it down to the level of a non-nuclear experiment in international military cooperation. Second, we should encourage the Labor Party to proceed with its planned abandonment of Britain's deterrent, thus helping to dissociate international "adulthood" from the possession of nuclear weaponry. Third, the U.S. must pursue a juggling act of a German policy, supporting Germany to the extent that rules out any temptation toward a reunification settlement on Soviet terms; urging (and pressuring when possible) German concessions such as recognition of the Oder-Neisse boundary; and opposing absolutely any further steps toward West German control over nuclear weapons.

5. Southeast Asia

A military solution to the chaos in South Vietnam is no longer foreseeable. U.S. forces in Vietnam are now talking about a "12- to 20-year" war, which seems to mean that a stalemate is the best we can hope for, while the worst—total collapse of the South Vietnamese regime—looms as a much more probable alternative. The Viet Cong collects taxes in two-thirds of the nation, and feels strong enough to attack our biggest airfield just outside Saigon. By all accounts the war has never gone so badly, and the possibility of the rise of a neutralist South Vietnamese regime, pledged to order the U.S. out of the country, becomes more and more distinct. However dangerous and unpopular at home, a negotiated settlement in Vietnam seems to be the only way out. General de Gaulle's ideas here are worth exploring. A neutralist Vietnam, with some believable guarantees and perhaps a role for France or the U.N. as guarantor of the agreement, should be acceptable. With the way the war is going, however, we suspect that only a massive military build-up by the United States, and perhaps a token raid or two on North Vietnam, will be able to bring the Communists to the negotiating table.

6. Poverty

Thanks to a handful of writers, whose voices have been amplified by virtually the entire national press and by the President himself, a war on poverty is now taken for granted. Only the scope of the war is a live issue. In general, we think most estimates, including those announced by the President are far too low. When we talk about elimination of poverty as a rational goal of the world's richest society, we are talking billions, not millions. It simply cannot be done within the framework of a balanced budget. General emphasis should not be on enlarging the dole (although the nation could well sustain a large permanent dole as the price of general prosperity) but on attacking the structures of poverty and enlarging individual opportunity. We would like to see a broad program for Appalachia, a strong domestic peace corps, a CCC for unemployed dropouts, a larger federal role in rehabilitation and retraining, and attractive tax concessions for private enterprises that stress retraining.

7. Social Legislation

Mr. Johnson's mandate is surely one for an active federal government. Some of the priorities here are holdovers from the Kennedy administration: health care for the aged under social security, broader aid to education, tax reform and housing programs. In connection with the latter, a department of urban affairs should be created, with cabinet status for its director. The cities badly need federal assistance, and in some cases urban problems such as transportation and air pollution already cut across city and state lines. The tax reform that eluded President Kennedy should be sought, with particular attention given to building pressure to close the depletion-allowance loopholes. Another urgent need is legislation to give the President standing authority to cut taxes when quick action is necessary to avert a recession. The long delay before Congress acts on anti-recession tax cuts badly impairs their usefulness. In the civil rights field, new legislation is unlikely for some time, but as long-term goals, laws on fair employment practices and fair housing, already on the books in many states, ought to cover the entire country.

Pension funds, though they take advantage of favorable tax conditions, are not protected by federal law, and should be. Aid to education should

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concentrate on helping the poorer states which are currently without the resources for first-rate educational systems, in many cases despite the fact that they spend proportionately more for schools than states such as New York and California. Aid, too, should benefit pupils of all schools, private and religious, where national interest dictates. To protect the nation's most exploited work force, the one million migrant workers, legislation along the lines suggested by Sen. Harrison Williams' subcommittee should be enacted. The law could cover contracts, housing and working conditions. The extensions of Public Law 78, which keep up the flow of cheap Mexican labor to compete with hard-pressed domestic migrant workers, should be ended. Despite the arguments of the few large growers, there is no shortage of U.S. farm workers.

8. Congressional Reform

In an age of crisis, the Congress of the United States must be capable of swift, sure legislation; many of its present procedures make this impossible. Chairmen of standing committees should be chosen by secret vote in party caucuses from among the three senior party members on each committee. The majority party members of the House Rules committee should be appointed every two years by the Speaker. The signatures of 218 Representatives, or even fewer, should bring any bill out from committee and onto the House floor. The members of the House and not the Rules Committee should determine whether a bill passed by the House should be sent to conference with the Senate; and the majority of members from each house appointed to a conference committee should by their votes have shown themselves in favor of the bill as passed by their particular house. The Senate majority leader should be authorized to present motions which, if adopted, would require committees considering major items of legislation to report them to the Senate within thirty days. No Senator should be allowed to hold the floor more than two hours, except by unanimous consent. The Senate should reinstate the right to cut off debate by a two-thirds vote on the motion of any Senator after a measure has been considered for fifteen hours over three days.

ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

The Council Revisited

Rome

THE ATMOSPHERE here this year differs perceptibly from that of the last session. Last year the progressives were still unsure of themselves, partly because few dared predict which way the new Pope would incline, partly because they were not yet certain of their own strength. This year there is much less tension in the air. The battle is not over by any means, but the progressives have been making steady progress, winning overwhelming majorities in vote after vote, and they feel no need to panic in the face of the inevitable oratorical broadsides from the conservative camp.

I am not sure how clearly the picture here is coming through at home. If there is confusion about what is going on, it must be attributed in large measure to the speed-up procedures that have been in effect during this session. To save time, the Council Fathers vote on various points previously covered and subsequently redrafted while they simultaneously discuss quite different matters on the floor. As a result the definitive vote on a subject will come on a day when something quite different is being debated by the Fathers. This may cause some confusion at home, but in this way the Council has in a few short weeks covered, or at least touched on, far more topics than it did in the previous two sessions together.

The most far-reaching achievement of the Council remains the acceptance of the principle of collegiality. In opening this session, Pope Paul urged the bishops to define for themselves wider powers without infringing papal authority. This task of finding the proper boundary between his authority and that of the bishops he called "the weightiest and most delicate" task of the Council. And in the Pope's remarks many people read more than a hint that when this Council is over we will see a Senate of bishops, superior to the Curia and working closely with the Pope.

Pope Paul's exhortation fell on ready ears, and the bishops have seized every opportunity since to emphasize their support of collegiality, the concept that the bishops form a "college" with the Pope as its head and that they share in the government of the whole Church. On this point the mind of the bishops is quite clear. In the crucial vote on the matter, for example, there were over two thousand favorable votes and less than two hundred opposed. The implications of collegiality for the future are, of course, tremendous. John Cogley called its acceptance the most radical step since the Counter Reformation, and I think he is right. From this point on, no diocese can be an island, and no bishop can be concerned only for his own small flock.

A prevailing concern among the Council Fathers here, or at least among the progressive leaders among them, is the need for the Church to adapt herself to

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modern times—not by changing any essential doctrine, of course, but by addressing herself to mankind's real concerns and by doing so in language that modern man will understand. Thus Cardinal Legér of Montreal won applause from the Fathers by urging that the Church abandon language that is "archaic, cut off from modern reality." Furthermore, he said, we stand in need of reform as far as the dress and titles of clerical dignitaries are concerned, implying that these too are often archaic and out-of-date. This theme was repeated, being sounded by many other Fathers after Cardinal Legér.

Collegiality was not the only topic carried over from last year. We are finally going to have married deacons in the Church again, or at least we are in those areas where national conferences of bishops vote for them. Let's hope the compromise of allowing only men of "mature age" to qualify does not take away most of the value of this move.

A more important carry-over from last year was the debate on the place of the Virgin Mary. Again the conservatives by and large tended to be "maximalists," voting to expand Mary's role, and the progressives tended to be "minimalists," voting to hold the line, although with some exceptions; Cardinal Suenens, for example, voted with the conservatives on this one. How will it come out? I might be wrong, but I would be very surprised if the maximalists have their way.

SO MANY things have been discussed and voted on that it is easy to accept really radical changes without a second thought. I suspect this is the story on ecumenism. The ecumenical-minded Catholic had to walk a very rough road until very recent times. Yet at this session the Fathers approved the most conciliatory statements of their desire to see Christian reunion that the world has seen since the Reformation. They have freely acknowledged that both Catholics and Protestants have been at fault in the creation of past discord; they have urged all Catholics to recognize and strive for the ecumenical spirit, calling for common prayer and even common sacramental observance "in special circumstances"—a ruling that will apply primarily to the Orthodox. Again the vote was overwhelming; on each vote taken the maximum number dissenting was 57. If any further need existed to show that the progressives have the votes, the balloting on ecumenism demonstrated this fact very graphically.

Near-unanimity extended in a negative sense to the schema on the lay apostolate. Cardinal Ritter said he liked the whole, but he took such vigorous exception to so many particulars that the force of his approval was largely dissipated. Few others had any kind words for the schema, which was generally considered too clerical in tone, too narrow in conception, too patronizing in its approach. On this one a whole new start seems in order.

All along there have been people who could hardly wait to get to Schema 13, which is concerned with the Church in the Modern World. For those who had their fill of theology, the notion of discussion of poverty, nuclear weapons, the relations between rich and poor nations, and the like, was very attractive. In fact, though, only the question of birth control has really sparked much excitement. The schema has good things to say, but most of them are not precisely new, following by and large the lead of the papal encyclicals, especially *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. Even the request, made in the name of all the American bishops present in Rome, for a lengthy and specific condemnation of racism was welcome but strictly one-day news. The only continuing tension the schema produced was on marriage and birth control.

On this subject the schema represented some progress —it said nothing about primary and secondary ends of marriage, for example—but it was still not exciting. It admitted there was a problem that worried many people, it called for further study, and it urged married people to be patient in the meantime. The fire was supplied during discussion by Cardinals Legér and Suenens and by His Beatitude Maximos IV Saigh, Melchite Patriarch of Antioch. Each spoke at length, and each used different words, but their messages were essentially the same: we need more emphasis on conjugal love as a true and valid end of marriage; we need to re-think the whole question of the traditional position on birth control. Unrestricted human fertility condemns "hundreds of millions of human beings to unworthy and hopeless misery," Patriarch Maximos said. The Church, he went on, must now study "if God really wants this depressing and anti-natural dead-end." The next day there were, of course, conservative counterattacks from Cardinals Ottaviani and Browne, but this could not change the essential point: never before have there been such strong recommendations from such high sources that theologians tackle this problem head on. It is difficult to see how the debate can ever again be quite the same.

I have saved for the last mention of the declarations on religious liberty and on the Jews. This time as last, both have suffered from various hidden maneuvers and devious efforts to kill them outright or to water them down to the point of meaninglessness. The Jewish declaration in particular has suffered from a combination of conservative intransigence and Arab opposition. At one point it was feared that conservative pressure was winning out; then a counterattack by progressives, including Cardinals Meyer and Ritter, is said to have won over Pope Paul and saved the day. No one knows for sure, however, and at this point it is too soon to say exactly what will happen. One thing is sure though: if the progressives lose on religious liberty and the Jews, it will make their other victories seem pretty hollow. I trust it will not come to that. JAMES O'GARA

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to The Commonweal on its 40th anniversary

Fordham University Press extends congratulations to The Commonweal and to its discerning readers on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of this lively review of public affairs. We are proud to have a selection of our books listed here. It is our wish that we may continue to list them in these pages for many years to come and for an ever-increasing number of subscribers.

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THE
COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs.

Volume I | New York, Wednesday, November 12, 1924 | Number 1

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Fortieth Anniversary Symposium

When the first issue of The Commonweal was published on November 12, 1924, Calvin Coolidge had just been elected President of the United States. One of the editorials in that issue commented on the Ku Klux Klan, calling it an "outrageous, sinister and ridiculous manifestation of ignorant bigotry, and of shameless violation of American principles." Another editorial urged Americans to "learn something of the high culture, the rich heritage . . . and the great natural wealth" of Latin America. Still another noted that "many forces both at home and abroad have been merging during the last few months to effect greater . . . economic stability."

If there is something familiar about these comments, as though little had happened in forty years, the impression is misleading. Times have changed. We would not today take so much offense at the charge, indignantly rejected by the editors in 1924, that "Religious conditions in South America are similar to those of the Middle Ages." Nor would we be likely to devote an editorial to Anatole France, as did the first editors.

In the end, these similarities and differences are incidental. The purpose of the men who founded The Commonweal in 1924 was to provide a new expression of Catholicism in American life. "But it will be in no sense," the editors wrote, ". . . an authoritative or authorized mouthpiece of the Catholic Church. It will be the independent, personal product of its editors and contributors, who, for the most part, will be laymen." Through the years, this has been our aim.

To mark the fortieth anniversary of the magazine, the present editors invited a number of past editors to discuss with them the history and the present situation of The Commonweal and the ideals for which it has stood. The moderator of the discussion was *James O'Gara,* Managing Editor since 1952.

The participants in the discussion were *George N. Shuster,* an editor from 1924-1937, a former President of Hunter College and now Assistant to the President at Notre Dame; *Edward S. Skillin,* the present Editor of The Commonweal, and a member of the staff since 1933; *John Cogley,* an editor from 1949-1954 and now a staff member with the Fund for the Republic; *Father William Clancy,* now a priest of the Pittsburgh Oratory and an editor from 1952-1955; *James Finn,* at present the Editor of *Worldview* and a Commonweal editor from 1955-1961; *Richard Horchler,* an editor from 1957-1962 and now Program Director for the National Conference of Christians and Jews; *Daniel Callahan,* an Associate Editor of The Commonweal since 1961; and *John Leo,* Associate Editor since 1963. —THE EDITORS

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O'GARA: We will start with you, George Shuster. Could you suggest to us how the magazine's founders envisioned the role of The Commonweal in the early days?

SHUSTER: I suppose there were as many envisioning processes as there were editors, but, in general, the main idea was to provide a lay organ which would to some extent, at least, implement the Bishops' Declaration of 1919 on social reconstruction. I think it very important to bear that in mind because this document was something of a "declaration of independence" on the part of the American Church; it meant a great deal.

Our second objective was the one that got us into trouble. We insisted on being as highbrow as the *New Republic*. Very few people objected to The Commonweal in those days in terms of doctrine or even in terms of being a lay organ, but they detested the notion that we were going to be highbrow. Of course, there were certain good reasons why they did so. In a sense we were making a gesture of exclusion, not altogether likely to be received in a friendly fashion. Most of the early criticism was on that basis. The clergy, it was said, were not good enough for us. We were living in the clouds. We were talking about things the average Catholic never mentioned. It cost us a good deal in terms of subscribers and in terms of good will.

O'GARA: Was The Commonweal thought of by its early editors as an exclusively lay organ?

SHUSTER: No. I first wrote for The Commonweal in 1924, and one of our close friends through the Michael Williams-Shuster era, which lasted until 1937, was Father T. Lawrason Riggs, the Catholic chaplain at Yale. He was a very fine and distinguished person and we treated him quite as if he were a layman. At the same time, we had certain ties with the Dominicans in New York. They were not overt, but they existed and I relied upon them a great deal. Then we also had as a member of the board Father John A. Ryan, a great figure with whom we loved to associate. On the whole, we didn't have as closely drawn a line of demarcation between clergy and laity as perhaps subsequently became the rule.

As for the issues which concerned us, I think our first interest was the critique of Catholic education. This was fairly mild, but it rubbed a lot of people the wrong way. The first speech I made in New York as a Commonweal editor was also the first speech to the National Federation of Catholic Students at its inaugural meeting. In it, I made some highly rebellious remarks, including one that professors should be paid a living wage. I suggested the stupendous sum of $5000. There were people in high office in New York who immediately took steps to see to it that there was no mention of that speech in any New York paper.

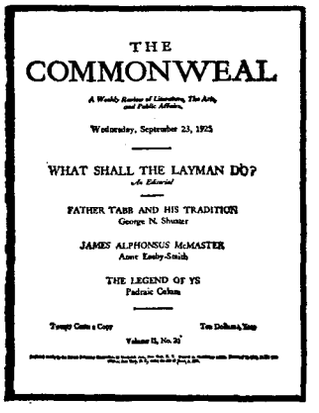
Then I think the second major source of controversy was one very difficult to reconstruct today. This was our combat with totalitarianism. The Commonweal was the only periodical in the United States that was systematically, consistently anti-Fascist, as well as anti-Communist. There were many more pro-Fascists and pro-Nazis among our potential subscribers than is pleasant to remember. Perhaps the high water mark of that particular episode was our plea that Catholics not participate in the 1936 Olympics in Germany.

The third major controversy concerned, of course, the Spanish Civil War. I personally felt that the major consequence of the upheaval in Spain engineered by Franco would be to make the Nazi war much more probable, and I opposed it for that reason. I insisted that Catholics must not be identified with the Franco regime because otherwise they were likely to be identified with Hitler, too. This position had nothing to do with being in favor of the Loyalists.

It was the outcome of discussions in a group which included, for example, Carlton Hayes, who subsequently changed his mind a bit, and Father Friedrich Muckermann, then editing the releases of the Vatican on the subject of the Spanish Civil War.

Then, of course, we began to discover we had relatively few friends.

SKILLIN: May I add that Michael Williams did not share Dr. Shuster's attitude, though he permitted the expression of opposite opinions. Dr. Shuster wrote and had articles written along this line, but Michael Williams' editorials were in favor of Franco's crusade.


THE
COMMONWEAL
A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts, and Public Affairs
Wednesday, September 23, 1925
WHAT SHALL THE LAYMAN DO?
An Editorial
FATHER TABB AND HIS TRADITION
George N. Shuster
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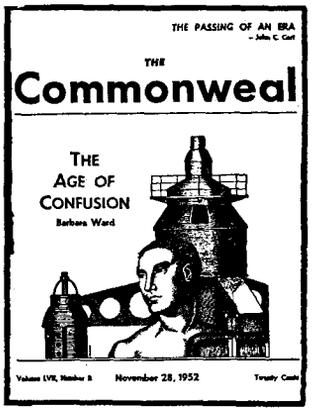
THE PASSING OF AN ERA
- John C. Cort
THE
Commonweal
THE AGE OF CONFUSION
Barbara Ward
Volume LVII, Number 8
November 28, 1952
Twenty Cents

SHUSTER: You have to remember that immediately after the pieces about Franco Spain, the Chancery Office and various other centers of clerical authority brought a lot of pressure on Michael Williams to change The Commonweal attitude that more or less had been neutral. I think he yielded to pressure. He didn't want to, but he was up against two things. In the first place, the magazine was going broke. Secondly, he was not at any time very eager to brave clerical opposition. This is not said in criticism. His whole process of conversion, the char-

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acter of his spiritual life, all dictated a much greater conformity with religious authority than perhaps characterized the rest of us. He had grown up in a totally different way.

Perhaps you will let me add something to clarify the situation. For my part I had an almost scrupulous respect for orthodoxy in the theological sense; and my problem was that, in the light of then current European thought, American Catholicism often seemed not orthodox at all but only backward. We introduced a great deal from abroad—Von Huegel, Guardini and the Jesuits of the *Nouvelle Révue Catholique*, for example. It worried me to think of the possibility that we, who after all were not theologians except in an amateur way, might unwittingly be espousing heterodox positions. And so I actually favored getting continuing professional advice. Indeed, I wanted to enter into a pact with some of our Dominican friends to supply that advice. All this did not bother Michael Williams. He thought that if we did make a serious mistake, we would hear about it and then take refuge in the fact that we were after all laymen. I wasn't sure that some of those from whom we were likely to hear would know more about the matter than did we. But Michael would have bowed to the Chancery Office without expostulating seriously.

O'GARA: You mentioned that, by 1937, Michael Williams was going broke. What was the financial situation of the magazine when it began in 1924?

SHUSTER: At that time we had a backlog of $300,000, which was a whale of a lot of money then.

O'GARA: It has never been seen again.

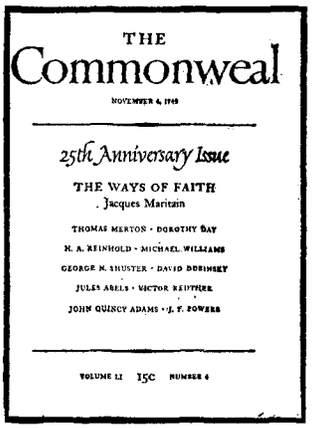
SHUSTER: No. Of course, it would be an interesting historical exercise to try to figure out how we spent it. But when we started, we were very generous. This was 1924-1925 and not 1964.

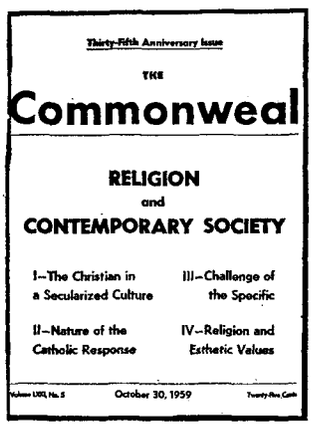
LEO: Were there any attempts to move against the magazine on grounds of departure from orthodoxy?

SHUSTER: There were undoubtedly people who would have liked to, but one of the things that they seemed to find very strange was that we had a protector in a place where you would never have expected to find one. That was in Boston in the person of Cardinal O'Connell. He was all in favor of the magazine.

CLANCY: Didn't he coin the phrase "Commonweal Catholic"?

SHUSTER: Somebody else coined it and gave it to him. His relationship with the magazine was quite extraordinary. Among the many things he did for us was to give financial help to Michael Williams. He did that with great generosity. I have a number of letters from the Cardinal, not long ones, but really very friendly. If you got into any serious difficulty, you could always depend on him, not to get up in a pulpit and say you were Simon-pure, but enough so that people knew they would have to take him on.


THE
Commonweal
NOVEMBER 4, 1949
25th Anniversary Issue
THE WAYS OF FAITH
Jacques Maritain
THOMAS MERTON · DOROTHY DAY
R. A. REINHOLD · MICHAEL WILLIAMS
GEORGE N. SHUSTER · DAVID DUBINSKY
JULES ABELS · VICTOR REUTHER
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS · J. F. POWERS
VOLUME LI 15C NUMBER 4


Thirty-Fifth Anniversary Issue
THE
Commonweal
RELIGION
and
CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY
I—The Christian in a Secularized Culture
II—Nature of the Catholic Response
III—Challenge of the Specific
IV—Religion and Esthetic Values
October 30, 1959

O'GARA: What interests me are the different conceptions of the magazine over the years. Father Clancy, how did you visualize the role of The Commonweal when you first encountered it? It certainly was not limited to applying the Bishops' statement of 1919.

CLANCY: I suppose I began reading The Commonweal regularly when I was still in high school, about 1940. I was beginning to search, I suppose, for a Catholic magazine that would engage me on some serious level. The Commonweal immediately did this. My first knowledge of the liturgical movement came from The Commonweal. So did my awareness of the problem of racial injustice. But I had known of The Commonweal even earlier, at the time of the Spanish Civil War. I was in grade school then, and we were asked by some of our teachers to pray for a Franco victory. Because of The Commonweal I knew the issues in Spain were more difficult than our teachers said they were. Thus, quite early in life, I was given a conviction that the problems facing the Church in the modern world were complex, and this conviction grew with my reading of The Commonweal. My idea of the role of The Commonweal when I first encountered it was really the idea I have kept through the years. It is the idea of exploring the *problems* of the Church in the modern world, and of doing this critically—free from any kind of official line.

O'GARA: In the 1950's, we used to talk of the magazine as being primarily concerned with the temporal order. I am inclined to think that we have shifted a little bit on that in the last four years, maybe since Pope John and the Council, because we treat editorially now a lot of things which can only be regarded as primarily in

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the temporal order by dint of a vast stretching of the imagination. We are now very much concerned with the internal affairs of the Church, with theological developments, and with the direction of the Church.

CALLAHAN: I am certainly conscious of a change, and it seems to me almost inevitable. Many critical problems concerning the relation of the Church to the world, to the "temporal order," are really theological problems. The layman is forced to work out many of these problems for himself. He simply can't wait for the theologians to speak and only then try to apply general principles to the concrete world. He himself has to grapple directly with serious theological issues. I think it has also become clear that when one talks in terms, say, of the layman's mediating the Church to the world, the layman sees the world in a somewhat different light than the theologian. In the very process of interpreting the work of the theologians he is likely to give their principles a rather different meaning and emphasis.

Not so long ago, I suspect the laity believed that the Church had at its fingertips all the answers to the complexities of contemporary life. The only problem was one of publicizing these answers. I think we know better now, and as a result are less prone to rummage around in old encyclicals or old manuals for magic solutions. One might say that now all bets are off, and we just have to start over. This time we can't afford to wait for tidy theological answers. They always seem to come too late.

CLANCY: I think that for many of us the sharp distinction often made in the past between the "temporal" and the "spiritual" orders is unreal. It seems unduly rationalistic. Reality is not so easily parceled out. In the concrete situations where we must make a choice—in literature, in politics, in questions of war and peace and of private and public morality—the two orders meet.

O'GARA: Let me ask this of Edward Skillin. What purposes did you and Philip Burnham have in mind when you took over the magazine in 1938 and reorganized it? What were you trying to do?

SKILLIN: Before answering your question, let me follow up briefly what George Shuster said, particularly about the Spanish Civil War. As long as he was with the magazine, the debate was open. But for a short time after he left, it became more and more like all other American Catholic periodicals which, except for the Chicago *New World* and the *Catholic Worker*, were espousing the Franco cause one hundred percent. Later, however, when the management of the magazine changed hands, we took a neutral position. I think it was the Spanish War that provided the greatest impulse for our wanting to something. We were very conscious of the Christian's duty to the truth. Dedication to the truth was the thing that aroused our determination to face the Spanish War as it should be faced. We had at one time thought of issuing a manifesto, and then it was suggested that it would be much more effective if we were able to present our viewpoint in the pages of The Commonweal.

In relation to the Spanish War, we were terrifically conscious of the problems of the temporal order. This country was still in the depths of the Depression as America hadn't yet started rearming and supplying the Allies. It seemed to us that Protestants and Jews and secularists, on one side, were heatedly contending with Catholics, on the other, about a very complex situation which was far away. We felt all Americans should be working together to bring about a realization of the social ideals we wanted for our country.

All of this was tied in with the rise of the ideologies in Europe. Curiously enough, in one of our first issues after reorganizing, we had an article by George Shuster which told of the arrival of Hitler in Vienna. That was where the real issue was joined, because the article was critical of the reception accorded Hitler on the part of Cardinal Innitzer and the Catholic Church in Austria. With our concentration on the temporal order, we were soon drawn even more intensely into this battle and into the American interventionist-isolationist battle, on which the staff became quite sharply divided.

O'GARA: This seems to me to raise a question in connection with Father Clancy's remarks about the temporal and spiritual orders. I would like to ask John Cogley about this. The Spanish Civil War was a prime example, I think, where we all probably agree now the Church was too much involved in the temporal order, where churchmen seemed to be committing the Church to one side of a very complex political question. How do you see the problem raised by such situations, John?

COGLEY: During my period at The Commonweal we were trying, in a sense, to secularize the American Catholic community. At least, we were trying to take those values which are American values—e.g. civil liberties, the Bill of Rights, the separation of Church and State—and to offer a rationale for them which would be conformable to Catholic doctrine. Essentially, that was the big battle we were fighting at the time. It was a matter of "baptizing" the good things derived from the liberal tradition, which we as Americans treasured.

We were very concerned, then, to draw a distinction between the Catholic as citizen and the Catholic as Catholic. We had to fight a lonely battle during that period. We were almost alone. Ten years later, it bothers me somewhat to see that this distinction between the unity of faith and the freedom of political judgment,

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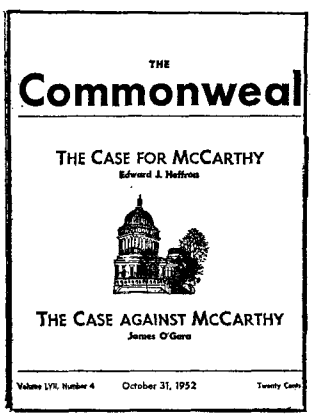
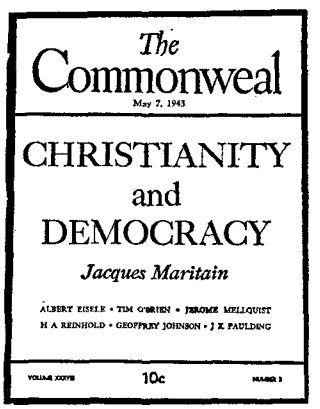
which we struggled so hard for, is somehow being played down.

O'GARA: Those who went through the McCarthy period at the magazine remember so well the efforts that were made in the Catholic community to create a rigid party line on this issue. You had to be pro-McCarthy or you somehow became a pseudo-Catholic or a not quite orthodox Catholic. That was the kind of climate which made us emphasize the distinctions between the spiritual and temporal orders. I remember what I thought was the classic letter we received, when Bishop Bernard Sheil of Chicago denounced Senator McCarthy. The editors of *America* had been critical of the Senator, and of course The Commonweal had always opposed him. After Bishop Sheil's talk, we received a letter to the editors in which the writer said, very simply: "May Bishop Sheil, the editors of *America* and the editors of The Commonweal go straight to hell and burn for all eternity. Sincerely yours," and then signed his name. This is the mentality I think we were fighting.

CALLAHAN: If I may say a brief word, I think some clarification is badly needed on this point. We all oppose the mentality of the letter writer. The problem, as I see it, is whether it is fully clear to talk of a distinction between the Catholic as Catholic and Catholic as citizen, as if the Catholic had two selves, one spiritual, one temporal. What badly needs clarification is the sense in which the Catholic, both as a believer and as a citizen, is one and the same person. He is a Catholic in whatever he does; he is, and should be, a unified person. I don't think this position is really incompatible with Mr. Cogley's; but there is a problem here.





FINN: I was very happy to hear that Mr. Callahan didn't think there was a sharp difference between himself and John Cogley because I am persuaded by both. I think what we are actually discussing is a perennial problem. There will be periods when we will put the emphasis in different places. As an example of what may come up, James O'Gara cited Senator McCarthy. The difficulty then was that many people tried to say they were following a religious orthodoxy and that it carried with it a political orthodoxy. If one differed from this political orthodoxy, he was considered heretical in a theological sense. This attitude, which we still encounter, is clearly wrong.

Agreeing with Mr. Callahan that it is not very helpful to separate the person into the spiritually concerned Catholic and the temporally concerned citizen—he is not separable in these terms—I think that the way the Catholic as a citizen or as a professional person operates in society is susceptible to different examinations. A Catholic doctor will be distinguishable sharply from a non-Catholic doctor in certain practices. His medical ethics, and therefore practice, will sometimes differ for very clear reasons, which he can point out. It is not as easy, however, to say that a Catholic President will differ clearly from a President who is not Catholic. The problem is quite different there. It may be a difference in degree, but the degree is so great I think that it becomes a difference in the kind of analysis one brings to bear on the problem. Hence, while I think I agree that you can't dissociate the Catholic as Catholic from the Catholic as citizen, in some instances the Catholic will certainly be distinguishable in society from the non-religious citizen. In some instances, he will not be.

O'GARA: We have a bridge generation here, if one can use the term, because Mr. Horchler and Mr. Finn come between the Cogley-Clancy-O'Gara and Callahan-Leo eras.

HORCHLER: If I can be one up on Mr. Finn, I agree with him and with Mr. Callahan and Mr. Cogley as well. It seems to me that the problem is not really a line of demarcation between temporal concerns and religious concerns, but different conceptions of what the Church is, what religious commitment means in terms of one's functioning in the public order, in the world, and how the Church can and must exert an influence in society.

I think that what we were very concerned with in the early days, and still are, is a Catholic attitude of closing ranks, with the Church exerting its influence chiefly as an institution, or as a political bloc, by lobbying and pressuring. What we are talking about now is, I think, not less involvement in temporal affairs by the Church —people, clergy and all religious—but a different kind of involvement. That is the problem. The Church must be less an organization, bloc or institution, which will impose its views or have them prevail through force. Instead, it must be more a body of people committed to values, who have a message in their keeping, who wish to teach and to preach, to excite the consciences and move their fellows, their fellow citizens as well as fellow religionists, to function in the temporal world as they believe they should.

The paradox is that while the "Commonweal Catholic" has in some ways always resisted ecclesiastical

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authoritarianism, he has at the same time bemoaned the lack of concern and lack of involvement on the part of the Church with the problems of the age. For my part, I would call for less imposition of authority by the Church in temporal affairs but actually more involvement in the problems of the times, whatever they might be.

FINN: I agree, but I have a question, a question I have often asked myself. Do I wish that the Church or the hierarchy or the Pope had spoken up, for instance, in the 1930's? Do I want that kind of introduction of religious values into the political order, not simply by Catholics individually or maybe even Catholics collectively, but by the head of the organization that we call the Catholic Church? I think that an answer to that particular question may seem simple, but I can think of situations today where the answer would be less than clear.

I was very pleased when various leaders of religious groups in this country got together and made a statement about the Civil Rights Bill. This is fine. This is obviously what our religious traditions together lead to. But then I am left with the question, how often do I want this to happen? If it does lead in this particular situation to a clear conclusion, would I be happy to see this done frequently? No, I wouldn't be happy to see it done frequently. I am left with the problem of distinguishing for myself those times when I would and wouldn't. Is it simply a matter of my personal preference? This would be highly unsatisfactory for many people, among whom I include myself.

CLANCY: Surely a current example is that many of us who are happy about the American bishops' statement on race and housing laws are not at all happy about a recent statement by some religious leaders—including some members of the hierarchy—condemning the Supreme Court decisions on obscenity.

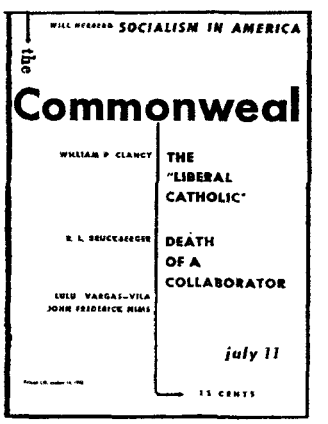
O'GARA: The heart of the problem is that we recognize the Church does teach with authority, but that we are nervous about the use of this authority. So it seems to me that the old distinction is a good one—where one distinguishes not by who says something, whether he be cardinal or bishop or priest, but the nature of the subject on which he is speaking. For instance, a cardinal on the subject of Franco carried no more weight with me than any other man. On the other hand, a cardinal speaking on the subject of the sacraments is a different story.

COGLEY: It is interesting that in California just recently some Catholics were demanding that the bishops tell other Catholics how to vote. This may seem a welcome assist on the particular issue of fair-housing legislation at stake, but I am not happy that we have a group in the Church, and liberals at that, criticizing bishops for not instructing the faithful on how to vote.

CLANCY: This was the strange situation in the 1950's. Our secular liberal friends are usually scared to death of the bishops saying anything; but in 1952 they were demanding that the bishops speak out on McCarthy. They were morally outraged that the American hierarchy didn't condemn him.

COGLEY: It is impossible to disagree with the statement made by Mr. Callahan, that the Catholic is one person, both Catholic and citizen. It is so meaningful as to be meaningless to me. The fact, though, is that the relationship between the two aspects of his life, the religious and the political, has to be painfully worked out by the individual. It is not easy.

I don't think it can be done in any authoritarian way. I am sure, for instance, that I have not been right in all the political judgments I have made, either as a Christian or as an American. I am equally sure that my ecclesiastical superiors haven't been right on the judgments they have made all the time. A perpetual tension exists between these two sides of life. If you say "I have two characters," that is obviously not true. But I do have a tension between my commitments as a Catholic and my commitments as a citizen. As Catholic, for example, I am committed to certain truths. As a citizen I am committed to the idea that all points of view deserve a hearing in society. This creates a tension. There is no question about that fact. I am not going to deny it. I don't think the Catholic Church of its own would ever have hit upon the Bill of Rights. Yet I am delighted with the Bill of Rights.



LEO: I would like to pick up John Cogley's point about the Catholic liberals in California. Enormous pressure was raised against Cardinal McIntyre, demanding his support to help defeat an anti-fair-housing law that Catholics should know enough to reject without his intervention.

I wonder if liberals haven't consistently been play-

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ing the game both ways. If it is a measure they like, they ask the bishops to intervene. Otherwise they are quick to point out that the political order belongs to the layman. I think the rationale that can cover this inconsistency, particularly in California, is that bishops should intervene only in specific political situations where the electorate is regarded as too immature to make its own judgments. Bishops are pressed to step in as long as the Catholic voters at large are not sufficiently aware of principles they should be applying.

But in the long run, I think, we should oppose intervention. I think that it can encourage the sort of dangerous assumptions made in the "Deputy" dispute, where so many of us spoke as if Catholics needed a specific mandate not to help roast six million Jews. In the end we will need self-starting Christians, not episcopal mandates. When a bishop steps in, he admits publicly that he has not educated his people sufficiently to make their own proper judgments.

COGLEY: In Massachusetts and in Connecticut the same people are criticizing the bishops' recommendations on how to vote on birth control legislation.

O'GARA: I see the problem. Yet in the United States you have statements by the American bishops on the race question, which tend to remain pious statements on a very high level with very little application on the parochial level. In fact, in many of the Northern cities, it is Catholic ethnic groups that are the most resistant to the question of interracial justice and neighborhood integration, etc.

If the Catholic position on the race question, to use that one example, is not made specific in terms of parish community, if there is not some kind of teaching authority involved, how are we going to do what needs doing?

COGLEY: I recently heard a bishop from California speak. He said that there was a vote a few years ago in Berkeley about opening up housing to Negroes. The bishop said a lot of pressure was put on him to approve this legislation publicly or to endorse it. He said he didn't for the simple reason that he felt Berkeley would become a Negro ghetto and that would increase rather than solve all the problems in the Bay area. His position was based on complicated political calculations. One day later I heard a young Catholic couple from the same area charge that same bishop with practically being immoral because he had not supported this particular legislation. It seemed to me, though, that the bishop had applied his political intelligence to the issue. Maybe he was right or wrong, but nevertheless he was applying *political* intelligence.

I found myself very sympathetic to the bishop, saying to myself, "How can you put a moral tag on the political judgment that this particular bishop made? It wasn't a simple question of morality and it wasn't a pure question of civil rights in this case. But the young couple was outraged and felt he had backed down on the general position of the Church on racism.

O'GARA: I am not so sure that when you say somebody has to make a prudential judgment, that you thereby say he makes no judgment. Suppose he had made a judgment to favor the law? Did he have a right to do so?

COGLEY: I don't think he should have been pressured to take a position publicly.

HORCHLER: What John Leo said before got to the crux of the matter. He talked about the bishops or the Church "intervening." We have also heard the phrase "speaking out." I think this is the key. If the bishops do not intervene or make some kind of authoritative statement, then we seem to be assuming that they—and we—are somehow detached from these issues that concern us all.

There must be a better answer than that. Nobody is saying, and I am certainly not saying, that the bishops ought to speak out and say, "This is how we should vote on this matter or that." But I do say that the way we are talking is an indication of how our faith has become irrelevant to so many questions in our national life, because moral dimensions, real Christian values, have not been made clear to our people from grade school on up.

Our situation seems to be one where religious faith has no influence on the function of the citizen except when authority exerts itself. And I think this is the great problem of today and of tomorrow: the relevance of religion in a secular culture. We may soon reach a situation where authoritarian action by the Church will be past and finished, no matter what we say about it today. If that is true, is religion, therefore, going to be impotent and irrelevant? I hope not. There must be another and better role for religion to play.

CALLAHAN: Father Joseph Fichter has pointed out that there is a strong shift in contemporary Christianity away from the problems of personal ethics to those of social ethics. I think we are caught in the middle of that shift, sometimes in a confusing way. When we speak of the "relevance" of religion, are we thinking of "relevance" in a personal sense or are we thinking of it in a social sense? Or both?

FINN: I think that is the crux of the question we have been discussing here. While I agree with everything John Cogley has said, about relating religion to individual political decision, one of our problems, as I see it, is to make it relevant, not only to individual

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action, but to collective action. This is the problem Jim O'Gara mentioned in terms of racial justice. We have pious statements, but unless there is some collective action—which means some kind of political pressure—nothing is going to take place.

Often the only way in which the citizen can intervene to make values effective is by collective action. This means that you must have somebody talking for the collective group. It may be a citizen. It may be a member of the hierarchy. It may be the Popes themselves, who have, I think, focused and galvanized a good deal of emotion and tension on particular problems in the social order.

COGLEY: You are not suggesting that all Catholics take the same position?

FINN: No, not at all.

HORCHLER: "Collective" need not mean a collectivization of Catholics, but may refer to citizens who are like-minded.

FINN: It wouldn't necessarily lead to agreement on any particular program. For instance, take the relationship of the United States of America, a rich, wealthy country which produces more than it can consume, to other countries which can't produce enough. A simple-minded solution would be to say to give them what they need and skip political and economic problems. That would be fine. But in between are the hard problems which everybody must work on, where there can be large disagreements. Nevertheless, our attention is focused on a moral obligation which is ours, not as individuals simply, but ours as a people, the American people.

I see it as a moral obligation. I think this moral obligation, which those who are not religious also have, has been called to our attention through our particular religious body and the heads of other religious bodies.

SKILLIN: Do you think, Jim, this can be organized on an ecumenical basis?

FINN: Certainly. The point I want to make is that there is a shift away from personal ethics, on which the Church has placed a great deal of emphasis in the past. The bigger problem now, as the Church turns itself to problems of social order and social justice, is how we as citizens and as Catholics fit in. Are we distinguishable from citizens who are not Catholics in dealing with these great problems?

COGLEY: I don't think I agree. At least I have much less trouble figuring out the moral aspects of social problems than I do of personal moral problems that come up from time to time. I think the Church has spoken more cogently about social problems than about problems of personal morality.

CALLAHAN: When someone starts talking of the relevance of the Church in the world, I am often tempted to speculate that perhaps he is really saying he wants the Church to be relevant for him in some very personal respect. Many people are, I am convinced, having deep personal problems about the nature of the Church, about their faith. There is a tendency to project these problems to the less unsettling level of social problems. Is this perhaps what you are getting at?

COGLEY: Yes, I think I would agree with that. When I have a personal problem, it is very often put in a social context. By putting it in the social context, my problem is not my problem at all. It now becomes a problem for society at large. The younger generation is screaming for individual identity through the Church. Young John Jones says, "Stop forever telling me I am part of mankind or I am part of society and that I have to conform my behavior to the needs of society."

When I learned ethics in college, for instance, what we learned was largely social ethics, very little about personal ethics. We learned, for instance, a great deal about the moral aspects of dueling. We must have spent a month on dueling, though it hadn't been a problem for a long, long time.

FINN: That is an atypical example.

O'GARA: Let me pursue this question of relevance with a question about The Commonweal. Taking you, Father Clancy, what did you see as the great Commonweal issues over the years? To what extent was The Commonweal relevant to the problems of the age?

CLANCY: Something George Shuster talked about at the beginning of this discussion has been a concern of The Commonweal throughout its history. That is the problem of totalitarianism, not only the totalitarianism of Communism or Fascism but also any tendency toward a totalitarian party-line within the Catholic community itself. Cyril Connolly once observed that we all have our fascist moments. It seems to me to be the great witness of The Commonweal to have resisted any fascist moments, any tendencies towards an authoritarian, party-line thinking among Catholics. One thinks here of The Commonweal's resistance to Father Coughlin in the 1930's, of the magazine's condemnation of General Franco during the Spanish Civil War, and of its rather lonely struggle against McCarthyism in the '50's. To elaborate one example: we may sometimes have wondered if we over-emphasized the McCarthy issue. Seldom a week passed in which we did not write an anti-McCarthy editorial. But history, I think, will sup-

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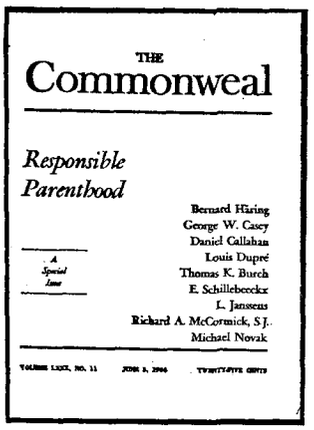
port our belief that we had a witness to make. This witness was to resist what seemed a pro-McCarthy party-line in the American Catholic press. Because we stood apart from most of the Catholic press on this issue, we felt we had a duty to fight McCarthy week after week.

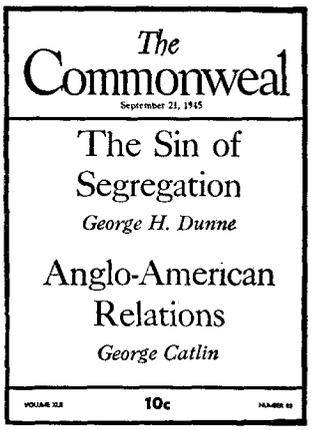
In these and other matters where a ready-made "Catholic" answer seemed to be available, The Commonweal has always insisted on the making of distinctions. In *Pacem in Terris* Pope John XXIII distinguished between the ideology of Communism in itself and certain historic results of Communism, which, he said, were not necessarily evil. This seemed to many a startling distinction to be made in a papal encyclical, but it was a distinction that we actually had been making in The Commonweal for a generation. In the making of it, we have been called some bad names by some of the Commonweal critics.

CALLAHAN: Would you also say the magazine has been anti-ideological?

CLANCY: Yes. I think if one has an instinct for The Commonweal, one has a deep suspicion of ideology, a deep worry about ideology, wherever it manifests itself, but particularly in politics and the arts. In this sense, The Commonweal has always been genuinely conservative, in the Burkean sense of the term.

O'GARA: I want to ask John Cogley the same question. What did you see as the great Commonweal issues over the years?


THE
Commonweal
Responsible Parenthood
Bernard Häring
George W. Casey
Daniel Callahan
Louis Dupré
Thomas K. Burch
E. Schillebeeckx
L. Janssens
Richard A. McCormick, S.J.
Michael Novak


The
Commonweal
September 21, 1945
The Sin of Segregation
George H. Dunne
Anglo-American Relations
George Catlin
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COGLEY: There was the whole question of ecumenism. We certainly were among the first to insist on dialogue as a substitute for the cold war between Catholics and Protestants and Catholics and Jews. I took great pleasure recently in Pope Paul's encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* because it seemed to bear out this notion. Much of the criticism we received came from the fact that we did try to meet other people on their own ground.

A second issue that occurs to me would be the literary one. We fought the notion that a book, because it was a Catholic book or because it was well motivated or promoted good morals, should get a good review in The Commonweal for that reason alone. Literary merits were taken as valuable in themselves. The same has been true of the theater criticism through the years.

A third was the slow and difficult working out of the conformity between Catholicism as a religious philosophy and what we might call in a good sense "Americanism" as a political commitment. Today there are fewer tensions between the Catholic as Catholic and the Catholic as American. In my own case, having received a pretty thoroughgoing Catholic education, I felt many times the tension between the two traditions I inherited. It took a great deal of thinking to work out the relationship between, on the one hand, an "absolutist" theology and, on the other hand, a notion of society which is almost officially posited on a kind of relativism.

SKILLIN: May I say that the points that John Cogley has made have seemed to me very characteristic of The Commonweal in its earlier stage. I wonder if George Shuster would feel that way.

SHUSTER: Yes, but of course the ecumenical movement was not nearly as highly developed .We borrowed more from the European experience. What we did was to introduce some solvents into the American scene, bring in some acids from one part of the world or other.

I think also that James O'Gara had a point. There is a distinction between the Church making up its mind for the Church and the Church making up its mind for the nation on what it wants done. That is one thing that I don't believe The Commonweal has worked out. You have to do certain things if we are going to make up the mind of the Church as, for example, on the integration order in Chicago. This is for the Church. Until you done this—and it is a tough job—then the whole discussion, I think, of the relevance of the Church to the American scene is very slight.

O'GARA: Could you spell this out a little more to tell us in what way you feel The Commonweal has failed?

SHUSTER: I will use this illustration. In the discussion in Chicago I don't think the Cardinal got enough credit for this. He began with the Clergy Conference in 1960 in which he laid down certain principles. He said they were based on fact. Chicago within twenty years will be one-half Negro, as far as the old city is concerned. Therefore, you have got to make your parishes missionary parishes.

One of the things he said at this time is that this obviously means that every Negro child has the same right to go to a Catholic school, wherever it is that the white children go. A great many pastors weren't having this at all. The only thing he could do was to issue the

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order. He couldn't persuade them. This means making up the minds of the Church through leadership. You can't do that in terms of the nation. I think John Cogley is absolutely right. If the Cardinal or Archbishop of some place comes out and denounces something or other, then he isn't talking to the Church; he is talking to the nation, which is a totally different category in my view. Certainly not until you have sanctified, hallowed, re-made, refurbished, reinterpreted the Church to itself does it make any sense in presenting the Church to the nation as a point of view.

FINN: I would say The Commonweal has not worked it out because it hasn't been worked out by anybody. Some people at least were happy that the Church in Germany came out against euthanasia. It was not simply speaking to the Catholic but speaking to a State. It was advocating what it thought were inviolable principles of the individual. This was not only speaking within the Church but outside the Church.

SHUSTER: Let me volunteer a comment. The Church in Germany took a firm stand against Nazi euthanasia but not so firm a one against anti-Semitism. The reason? In the thirties there was not a negligible body of theological opinion in Europe which favored recourse to euthanasia under certain pathological conditions. This was of course not euthanasia as Hitler understood it. But the total question was resolved inside the Church, so that by the time Bishop Galen spoke, the Catholic position was firm and clear. Unfortunately no comparable approach was made to the question of anti-Semitism, which is one reason why Vatican Council II has made such a point of it. The lesson of the German experience has been taken seriously.

FINN: The Church had not performed the function for itself.

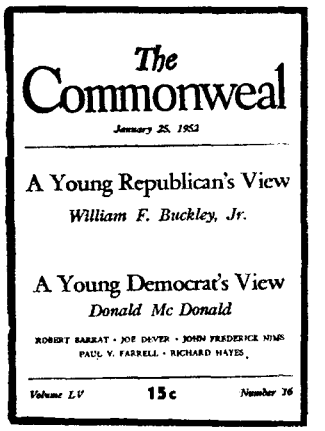
SHUSTER: It had not sanctified and clarified itself.

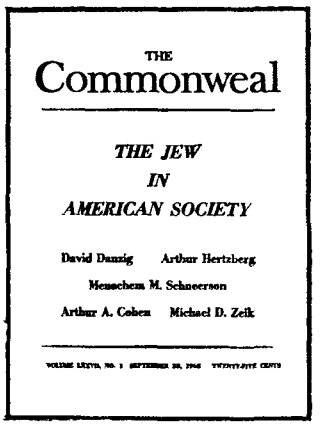
FINN: This is true in terms of race relations in this country.

CALLAHAN: This goes back to the question of why The Commonweal today can't neatly separate the theological and the temporal. One can't speak to the world unless one can speak to oneself.

O'GARA: To whom is The Commonweal speaking?

HORCHLER: I am troubled by what Dr. Shuster is saying when he talks about the Church making up its mind. He seems to be talking about the hierarchy making up its mind, by means of decree or pronouncement, and I think there is more to this question than that. For instance, in terms of the hierarchy, the Church has made up its mind on birth control. But it seems to me that the "mind of the Church" involves more than hierarchical pronouncements, that the Church's internal dialogue has to be acknowledged and that the actually held and actually lived beliefs and values of the faithful must be expressive of the "mind of the Church." If this is so, then it might be said that the "mind of the Church" on birth control might be in fact very different from what the hierarchy says it is. And certainly something is very wrong somewhere if the people—who are the Church—don't really believe what the hierarchy says they do. I realize I am raising all kinds of problems about the teaching authority of the hierarchy, but I think this is a difficulty we can't overlook.





CALLAHAN: If the hierarchy does not speak when its voice is needed can we say that "the Church" has failed? Or if the hierarchy speaks but the people do not respond, then again could we say "the Church" has failed? I think we all recognize now that one should not think of the hierarchy alone as the Church. It is a part of the Church, and the Church is the whole people.

COGLEY: The hierarchy is the teaching part.

CALLAHAN: But many still seem to think that the Church is that teaching part.

HORCHLER: I think the writers and the thinkers and the theologians who do not exercise administrative authority become part of the working out of the Church's self-understanding, its tradition, as the People of God grapple with their problems, apply their values and beliefs and evolve some sort of practice, some sort of posture in relation to them.

LEO: I think Catholics have had an impact on the country to the extent that the liberal intelligentsia thinks they leave their Catholic principles at the door, which bothers me. This operated in the case of President Kennedy, who was accepted as a national leader to the extent that he dissociated himself from the hierarchy. He

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could be accepted by the people in the mainstream of liberal thinking because he did not seem to adhere too closely to what they thought to be his Church's teaching. It has always puzzled me that a Catholic could only be a major influence in politics if he was taken to be acting as if he were not Catholic at all.

O'GARA: It suggests there is considerable fear of "official," if that is the word, Catholic thinking in this country. If you are too closely identified with official positions, with the hierarchy, people are distrustful of you. They are afraid you won't respect their religious liberty. They are afraid you will be pro-censorship or pro-Franco or afraid of all these things. This is the kind of fear that Protestants have about Catholics. My question would be to what extent have we brought this on ourselves.

LEO: I would like to hear John Cogley on this. So few Catholics have actually gone beyond the new Catholic-liberal ghetto, and got inside the liberal intelligentsia. What is the reaction to Catholics when we get there?

COGLEY: I think all of you, and particularly George Shuster, can bear out that there is always a lingering suspicion of you, if you are a Catholic. You have to prove yourself, prove that you are not talking for the "party"; that you are actually expressing an honest opinion; that this truly is *your* opinion and not something someone whispered to you; and that you are not making a great leap from some hidden premise in your argument. There is almost always a search for your secret premise, if you are a Catholic.

I think this initial suspicion exists. It certainly existed in the case of John F. Kennedy—a suspicion that even though he didn't appear to see much of the hierarchy, probably there was some influence operating. There is this immediate suspicion.

It takes a while to break it down. Maybe eventually we have to earn a kind of personal respect, so that after a while they may believe you are an honest fellow and not operating on hidden premises. Maybe nobody is giving you orders and so on. I do consider this a real problem for the individual Catholic operating in a pluralistic setting. There is no question, especially in the intellectual world, that there is definitely a problem.

O'GARA: What I would like to suggest is that this attitude comes from the fact that we Catholics have got all kinds of homework to do. The Council, for example, issued a communications document that scares non-Catholics to death. If I were non-Catholic, it would scare me. It seems to be pro-censorship and seems to be ready to give the State much too much power. It frightens many artists and journalists who are Catholics and it scares non-Catholics of good will like Robert McAfee Brown. This is just one example of our unresolved questions. People want to know whether one is the type of Catholic who would support the communications document simply because it was voted on by a number of bishops or is he the kind of Catholic who will raise some serious questions about the matter.

CALLAHAN: While I certainly agree, I think it worth adding that social and cultural history plays a powerful role here. My own impression is that most Catholic liberals grew up in the cultural world of the Catholic ghetto even though they may have opposed that world. By contrast, those who are the leaders of a broader American liberalism were raised in a different milieu. They share many things beyond their common political leanings: similar intellectual backgrounds, a shared Protestant, Jewish or agnostic heritage, a common economic and educational history. The Catholic, simply because his background will often be different, remains something of an outsider. It is not always easy to break down the kind of cultural and personal barriers which exist between the Catholic and non-Catholic. It is more than a question of just demonstrating one's personal integrity. One has to overcome a lot of very concrete history.

O'GARA: I suspect, for instance, that the late President Kennedy, if he had gone, say, to Loyola, as I did, instead of Harvard, probably would not have been elected. Why wouldn't he have been elected? It was partly because he wouldn't have been part of the "in group," the establishment. But also people would have been worried about what he learned in Loyola and whether he was completely devoted to the American Constitution or was he pro-Franco, and similar questions.

FINN: I would like to say perhaps the generalization holds, but I think there are a number of exceptions. It is becoming less applicable in this country. My parents were immigrants to this country, but I certainly don't feel I grew up in a Catholic ghetto. Most of my formal education was non-Catholic. I was delivered into this world the same year The Commonweal was. I got my informal Catholic education by reading through what was at that time a morass of Catholic publications, until I came upon The Commonweal. It was from The Commonweal, and the journals and books to which it led me, that I derived much of my Catholic education.

This was at a time when I was being educated in secular schools. This can be a disturbing experience because, as a Catholic, you are called upon to explain or comment on, not merely the urgent if relatively ephemeral issues of the day, but on basic principles underlying the judgments on those issues. It was in this world, outside of a Catholic ghetto, that I learned my

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Catholicism. It was practice in search of principles in my case, rather than the reverse, as may be preferable. But, in any case, I had the practice given to me at home and I had to find the principles. Those that were most satisfactory I found through reading The Commonweal and through reading the theological articles that George Shuster and others put into it.

The suspicions which I encountered were not those of my liberal friends who were not Catholic. They were those of my Catholic friends who were not so liberal. When I said I was educated under non-Catholic auspices, it was obvious that I should be held under suspicion until given the stamp of approval by someone —I was not sure, maybe it was too late—from the Catholic governing body.

HORCHLER: What you said in reverse is that the ghetto does exist in one form or another.

FINN: Yes.

HORCHLER: You were under suspicion because you were not educated in the ghetto.

FINN: I will not deny the existence of the ghetto.

CALLAHAN: My impression is that many of those who founded The Commonweal were perhaps less from the ghetto than those who followed in later generations. George Shuster and Carlton Hayes represented a somewhat different strain in American Catholicism than James O'Gara and John Cogley. They were not Irish, for one thing.

SHUSTER: I was kicked out of the ghetto. What really introduced me to the world of "liberal thought" was the Brooklyn *Tablet*. This was the most successful advertiser I could ever possibly have asked for. When I say "kicked out of the ghetto," I mean it. I will say that Notre Dame, when I was there in my youth, was not a ghetto. It became one for a short time later on. But it lived in the shadow of Father Zahm who has sponsored evolution in the face of almost universal criticism. You had a combination of someone who was German going to Notre Dame, which combination was looked upon with a great deal of suspicion by the Brooklyn *Tablet*. I was kicked out of the ghetto so fast that I never thought about being in it.

O'GARA: If you have exhausted this subject, I would like to raise a slightly different point. It has seemed to me that several times in the course of this discussion there has been a note of, if you will pardon the expression, triumphalism—at least the feeling that our problems seem to have been solved. Father Clancy thinks that perhaps we have put too much emphasis on McCarthy: the Church-State question doesn't seem very pressing; etc., etc. In point of fact, everybody seems to be talking from a vantage point of Pope John and the Council.

FINN: On the note of triumphalism, I dissent.

O'GARA: I am raising this question: have we reached some kind of a great plateau? Is everybody satisfied now with the state of American Catholicism?

HORCHLER: Yet something very remarkable has happened: Catholicism in the United States and Catholics in the United States have largely moved out of the ghetto. I think Pope John and the presidency of John Kennedy have demonstrated this. But I think we are now facing more difficult problems than ever, in that I don't think we have determined yet how the Church, how the religionist, is going to function in this outside world.

COGLEY: The problem is: Okay, you can speak; now what do you have to say?

HORCHLER: We have made it, and now what?

COGLEY: Now what do you have to say? I am not sure we have anything to say that is much different from what other people can say.

FINN: I think that is the right question. Freedom has in a sense been earned by Catholics and the question now is how to use it. The question is raised, I think providentially, at a time of significant change within our society. People like Harvey Cox and Daniel Callahan have been writing about the concept of the secular society, a society in which religion plays a particular role. The question is: what role?

This change has taken place in society, along with that remarkable change in the Church which leads us to ask: what is the Church and what is the People of God? What is the function and obligation of the layman in the Church? I think that the two will come together. We say, "What is the function of the layman in the Church?" at the same time that we are asking "What is the proper role and function of the Catholic as a citizen in a society which is becoming progressively secular?" I think these two large questions are intimately related. They are not to be solved in our society separately. They can be solved only conjointly. I say the conjunction is providential not because I think all our questions are solved, but because I think we have a better chance in our society, in America, to give a reasonably adequate answer to the question of religion in society than in any other society that I see existing today.

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SKILLIN: When you say we have freedom to speak, I gather you mean that Catholicism has earned an eminence, so it is free to speak to American society. But I wonder to what extent there is freedom to speak within the Church itself.

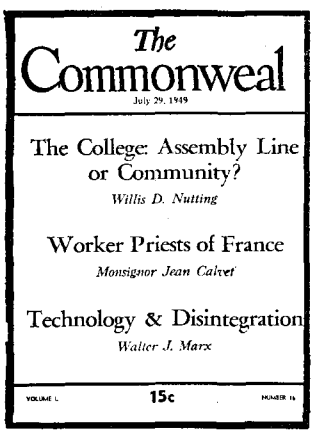
COGLEY: I think there is a lot more than there used to be.

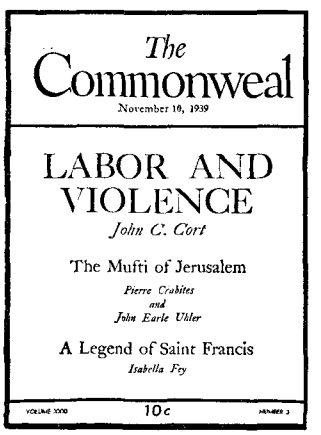
HORCHLER: I think this problem is, if not solved, at least in the process of being solved.

O'GARA: Let us pursue this. The Commonweal has in recent months published specific issues devoted almost entirely to the racial question and Catholics in Philadelphia, and again at even greater length to the same question in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. George Shuster, in your day, for instance, would The Commonweal have been inclined to do that sort of thing or would it have been free to do so?

SHUSTER: I think we probably wouldn't have felt that we could attack, let us say, an individual as you did the Cardinal of Los Angeles. But we did attack issues very vigorously. We thought we were making progress. I can only come back to that Declaration of 1919, but it is almost impossible for people who didn't live at that time to realize the emancipating impact of that document. This was as if the Church had learned how to talk to modern America. It talked first to itself and then to the world in new terms, free terms. We started with that and, of course, we did some pretty bold things.

O'GARA: I know The Commonweal always did bold things, but would you have made a specific criticism of a particular bishop or particular diocese? Would you have had that particular freedom?





SHUSTER: We would have done it but with great circumspection. It would have pained us no end.

O'GARA: It is not that the present generation is more courageous, but the climate is different, so we can do it with more or less impunity.

CLANCY: I don't think we should suspect any triumphalism here. Something has happened very quickly in the Church. Great, historic battles, in which most of us until recently saw the chance of only distant victory, have been won. When Karl Rahner wrote his book *Free Speech in the Church*, it seemed a marvelous thing that a book with such a title was even written. It seemed hopeful that somebody was talking about the possibility of free speech within the Church. Now, a few years later, free speech in the Church is taken for granted.

FINN: Not quite.

LEO: I would like to debate it. I don't think it is taken for granted.

CLANCY: It is taken for granted by everyone here.

LEO: There is tendency for Commonweal editors to be a bit smug because we can say exactly what is on our minds. But outside of one or two diocesan papers, I don't know any other organ that can speak with the freedom we do, and its an illusion to think our freedom is very widely shared.

O'GARA: I would suggest that the kind of mail we get at The Commonweal is indicative of something. We get a great deal of mail from young priests from the lower clergy, as we say, who are suffering from the kind of authoritarianism they find in their particular diocese and appealing to us to take the lead in developing institutions that will guarantee greater freedom for the lower clergy.

CLANCY: The lower clergy—if I may speak from my own brief experience—necessarily labors under inhibitions. And I would emphasize the word "necessarily." But a layman need not feel most of these inhibitions. This is a part of the practical distinction between the two vocations in the Church.

HORCHLER: But things have been said in the Sistine Chapel recently which probably The Commonweal would not have been reckless enough to publish a few years ago. This records and I think validates a fantastic change in the Church. It may be that in a particular diocese or in particular seminaries there is still a long road to be traveled, but as the Council has demonstrated, the majority of bishops of the Church seem to hold ideas which we didn't even dare to entertain just a few years ago.

CLANCY: Many of the things The Commonweal was speaking of in a very lonely voice five years ago have suddenly become accepted.

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FINN: They have entered into the mainstream.

CALLAHAN: The change is not only in what is being said now, but also in the way in which it is being said. There is a growing impatience with polite circumlocutions and vague abstractions. There seem to be more and more people who feel that, if they are going to talk about the Church, they should talk in terms of specific names and specific situations—what, for instance, is Bishop X doing about the race problem in city Y? I certainly sense that my generation, at any rate, is more interested in the concrete, historical Church than in the dogmatic, theological Church. No doubt this interest in the concrete and the specific, dealt with in direct, hardly pietistic language, distresses many. In the past few months, in fact, I think I have seen the first signs of a backlash against this directness; not a backlash from those opposed all along to the new movements in the Church, but, more significantly, from those who have supported them.

SHUSTER: If I may make a comment on that, I think that what we are up against is no different from the problem of management in all other forms. The unsolved problem of the American Church, the Catholic Church, is a theory of management. If you work for certain businesses in the United States, you won't have nearly as much freedom as a Catholic had forty years ago. You can't belong to the NAACP, for example. In good dioceses now, where you have worked out a few ecclesiastical management approaches, there is a whale of a lot more freedom. But where the management is backward, there isn't any more than there was before.

If you want to make a real assault on the problem, you just try writing a series of essays on ecclesiastical management and see how long you will last. It would be worthwhile.

O'GARA: I was slightly disturbed by the comment that as we go on people will be less and less able to tell the difference between Catholics and others, and that this is probably a good thing. I understand the point that political wisdom is not confined to religious men, but I am also inclined to think that the American Church is failing on this score in so far as people are not able to tell the difference between us and others in a way that they should.

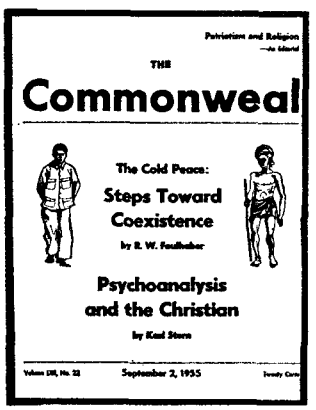
For instance, the Quakers are famous for their devotion to peace. Are we famous for our devotion, say, to our fellow men? Are we famous for being the Church of the poor?

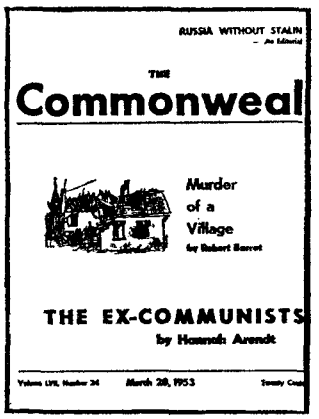
COGLEY: I don't think it is fair to compare the Church with a sect.

HORCHLER: Pope Paul made mention of this.

COGLEY: Even the Quakers would admit they are not a church.

O'GARA: Leaving the Quakers aside, I am raising the whole question of materialism. Should a Catholic be distinguished from others by his attitude toward material things and by his attitude toward his neighbor, an attitude which would set him apart from others?





COGLEY: Is this a normative or a scriptural question? It is not likely now or in the future as long as the Church remains the Church. In other words, I think that there will always be imperfections in the Church. We have institutionalized imperfections, but this will keep being the Church for the ordinary guy and ordinary Christian doing the ordinary kind of thing. This doesn't bother me at all. I expect this. If I was going around looking for the Catholic Church, what I would look for is something ordinary.

HORCHLER: There is a wistful integralism in the attempt to distinguish the Catholic. I would presume that the Catholic would distinguish himself as a man of good will as he functions in the world. But, again, the men of good will, citizens who work for the values we all share, are not restricted to Roman Catholics or even to Christians.

O'GARA: It still seems to me that more must be said. What is the most fundamental thing you can say about one who subscribes to this particular religion? This something that is different should set him off from those who do not share these beliefs.

CALLAHAN: I think Catholics do have some distinctive characteristics, but they are not particularly impressive or notably Christian. The sociologist could probably predict that any given Catholic will most likely have strong views on sexual ethics but could not so easily predict his views on the moral obligation, say, for rich nations to help poor nations.

O'GARA: What I am raising is the question of whether

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the Church in America has tended to put its emphasis on the wrong things, so that what people know as being a Catholic involves having eight children rather than four, or in general being strict on sex, rather than being good on the race question, or being detached from the material things. In short, I am saying that the Church in this country has very often put its emphasis in the wrong places.

COGLEY: You are talking about a particular manifestation of Catholicism. There are Catholic countries in the world where the very opposite might be true, where good Protestants are told to stay away from Catholics because they are too loose on sex. Remember the song "How Are You Gonna Keep Them Down On The Farm After They See Paree?" These are sociological manifestations of Catholicism.

I read an interesting thing the other day. Somebody was pointing out the difference between Latin American Catholics and American Catholics, and said if you asked American Catholics "Who is the best Catholic in your parish?," they will mention somebody who goes to Mass and Communion every morning. If you ask Latins, they will say "José." You discover José hasn't gone to Mass in the last five years, but José is the most charitable man they know. That is what I am saying about Catholicism. There are many Catholicisms.

FINN: I would make one caveat. While agreeing you cannot always distinguish a Catholic from his neighbor who is not Catholic, I would still say there would be good reason on occasion to distinguish the Catholic from the non-Catholic. I raised earlier the question of Catholic doctors who will in many instances be distinguished by what they profess and practice from the non-Catholics.

In longer-range terms, what George Shuster said The Commonweal did in the early days was to adhere to at least a tradition in the Church which always existed and which should have been stronger. That was to resist totalitarianism of all kinds because the Church places a value on the human person and, therefore, places a value on him in relation to any state; this is a tradition which should protect citizens from both the attractions and threat of totalitarianism. In fact, of course, the sociologist speaking descriptively can say that the Church was not sufficiently true to its own best tradition.

O'GARA: Let me pursue this with one example. I will take an extreme example. There are believing people in the Southern part of the country who, as a matter of religious conviction, think that Negroes are inferior. As a matter of religious belief, they don't want to associate with Negroes or have their children associate with them. At the least I think you should be able to detect a difference between such a person and a Catholic, who believes in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, et cetera.

SHUSTER: You can't. That is one thing I have learned from the study of Catholic education.

O'GARA: In fact, you cannot tell the difference?

SHUSTER: You can tell it in the Northern cities, but not in the Southern.

FINN: There are Catholics in the South who say on their reading of the Bible exactly what the segregationists say.

CALLAHAN: Doesn't this indicate that Catholics have done a little too well in adapting themselves to American culture? It has always been a great claim that the Church can adapt itself to any culture, but perhaps we are recognizing that this is not enough, that the Church has also to exercise its prophetic witness, resisting the mores of a culture when that is required.

COGLEY: What is interesting is that the Catholics, for all their integration activities, have lagged behind the liberals. The bishops are now taking the position that the much-denounced "secularists" espoused twenty-five years ago. If you are asking me should I be different from a secular liberal, I would say in many ways I sometimes wish I could catch up with them. That may be true of some bishops, too.

FINN: You are saying that the Catholics adapt themselves too much to the culture.

COGLEY: Who makes the culture? In this case, the liberals wouldn't adapt to the Catholics and other Christians.

HORCHLER: I don't think it is so much a question of adaptation. I think Roman Catholicism remained largely irrelevant to the moral questions in the culture, and these moral questions were decided, or are being decided, as a result of other values, other pressures within the culture. Catholic teaching in our institutions of higher education, as well as high schools and grade schools, emphasized the private morality or ethic that John Cogley was talking about before, which I think was largely irrelevant to the real questions of the society.

CALLAHAN: I am convinced that there is a close relationship between a disposition toward conformity within the Church and a disposition toward conformity in society. The Catholic educational, institutional, and

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theological structures promote self-effacement and submissiveness in the Church. One is rewarded for docility, not for boldness. Is it really any surprise that the Catholic who is not trained in independent thinking, not trained to stand against the crowd within the Church, not trained to assert his personality, will also tend to be a conformist in society? We want the Catholic to raise hard questions about the social fads and ills of society; but can we really expect this if he has no chance to raise hard, disturbing questions about that which is his deepest concern—his religion? If you train conformists in the Church, you are likely to get conformists in the world. I think ingrained attitudes have as powerful an effect on our conduct as the principles we are taught; perhaps they are even stronger.

COGLEY: I think this is due to the fact that those qualities that you are talking about are the qualities least valued within the religious orders which run the schools —independence of thought, questioning of authority, etc. These are frowned upon within religious orders. Teachers in Catholic schools frequently pass on the monastic virtues as ideals for students who will live in the world.

CLANCY: It is not simply a problem among religious orders. Catholics as a whole have traditionally feared these things. They have regarded "Freedom of Thought" as an anti-clerical slogan. Even today a paper like the Brooklyn *Tablet* seems to think that when a liberal says "liberty" he means "license." The Catholic community in the United States, as a community, is only now beginning to come to terms with the meaning of civil liberties.

The American Catholic Church has a good record on public questions that touch the immediate interests of many Catholics on such social and economic questions as the right of the laboring man to organize, for example, or the right to a living wage. We have spoken quite clearly on these issues. But we have not understood the liberal when he talked about civil liberties. And on many great questions—such as social justice—our conscience has been far behind the liberal conscience.

CALLAHAN: Catholics were consistently anti-Abolitionist prior to the Civil War. They had little stake in seeing the Negro freed from slavery.

CLANCY: I still think we have suffered from parochialism, that we have tended to enter into the struggles for justice in contemporary society when our interests were involved, but to stand apart when our own stake in the battle was not clear. I would cite not only the race question, but also questions of censorship as examples.

COGLEY: You mentioned civil liberties. I think our problem derived from the fact that there was too easy a translation from abstract philosophy to concrete practice. The great need, for instance, was to "justify" separation of Church and State. Father Murray worked out an elaborate theological case for the American System. He got at it, and, lo and behold, it turned out Leo XIII was for our kind of separation of Church and State all the time. I think that what Father Murray did was a job that had to be done to work out the theory to justify the existing practice. It had to be done in the theological idiom of the time. I don't think it is a problem anymore. Already Father Murray's work has become oddly irrelevant, or at least dated.

SHUSTER: Not from a scholarly viewpoint.

O'GARA: Let me raise another specific point. In a normal parish it is a sermon cliché to talk about materialism, to be anti-materialism, to say, "The great problem of the age is one of materialism." But in point of fact, everything about the parish, the normal parish plant, is devoted to materialism. The rectory has to be much more luxurious than the best home in the whole parish. If possible it is air-conditioned with thick rugs and fine furniture. The religious community is dedicated to poverty, but its house is air-conditioned. In the parish, which should be a living sermon against materialism for the rest of the world, Catholics are not living this sermon. Catholics talk a great game about the principle of subsidiarity, about how all communities should solve their problems as close to the whole problem as possible, and the like. In fact, though, very few parishes function as a community solving problems inside the community itself. There is very little example of non-materialism set for the rest of the country.

SKILLIN: That brings up the question about all the progress which has been made in the last five years. To what extent has the layman's position or layman's role changed? Perhaps he speaks a little more freely than before, but is there any real change in his status within the Church, in his parish, or in his diocese?

SHUSTER: May I take one very brief moment? I think the place where you see the change most vividly is in higher education. The Catholic college and university today is practically a lay institution. It is a lay institution with a very great deal of autonomy. There are still relics of the past, but these are disappearing. I think you can say that as the university has an impact on Catholic opinion, it is going to be primarily the opinion of the laity. I don't want to talk about this too much, but it is true. If you take, for example, a place like Villanova, in some ways it is quite remarkable. It has practically no priests left. At Notre Dame I would say in the major public-opinion-forming departments there are practically none.

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HORCHLER: To echo something Daniel Callahan has said and written, this is true, but it is an accommodation that has been made as a result of certain physical conditions. That is, the increasing shortage of religious to staff the schools, and any rights and privileges which the lay faculty have won in our Catholic institutions have been won over the kicking and screaming of the religious orders which directed them. But what concerns us all is the lack of any juridical recognition of the lay role, the place of the layman in the Church. This we have not solved.

COGLEY: What bothers me more is the conflict between what I might call the "lay" mentality as opposed to the "clerical" mentality. When I say "the lay mentality" I mean a mentality which puts the emphasis on secular values that they deserve. If we are going to have clerical mentality, I don't want merely to substitute a group of priests for a group of laymen. I would rather have a group of priests with a clerical mentality than a group of laymen with the clerical mentality. The fact that a man happens to be a priest doesn't mean he necessarily has a clerical mentality or vice versa.

CALLAHAN: What do you mean by a "clerical mentality?"

COGLEY: I don't have a ready formula but I am thinking of a man who sees everything in essentially ecclesiastical terms, whose categories of thought are ecclesiastical, who does not see himself when he is looking at the "world."

CLANCY: Institutional?

COGLEY: Yes, they are sectarian—historically any Catholic society is better than any non-Catholic society; a bad poem on a religious subject is better than a good poem on a secular subject. You find that kind of thing among the laity as often as among the clergy.

SHUSTER: Maybe more than among the clergy.

FINN: This is one of the things that The Commonweal from early days has fought for, to recognize the autonomy that is proper to any discipline, whether politics, art, or science, recognizing that they must all come under some final moral judgment, but that final moral judgment is not as readily reached as most people would like to think. I always remember a phrase from T. S. Eliot, who said that whether a work of literature is a great work of literature is ultimately decided in moral terms, but whether it is work of literature can be decided only in literary terms. I think that is a statement which can be transferred to many other areas.

I am in full agreement with John Cogley. I would give another example of what he would call the clerical or ecclesiastical mind. There are those who want to reach readily some kind of, not judgment, but definitive statement on what has been called one of the great moral problems of the age—the threat of nuclear warfare. They would say here the Church has moral principles that declare nuclear deterrents to be evil; they are bad and should be outlawed. And they expect the rest of the world to listen, without recognizing the problems that exist in the civil and political order.

I think I am somewhat concerned because many of the people who want these statements do not come to the informed layman to see what the real problems are. Today they would have to come to American laymen or Russian laymen because they are the ones who are dealing with the real problems of what it is to have these terrible weapons at their disposal, the ones who are learning to control these weapons. To talk of the deterrent as a simple matter and not recognize what is involved in a deterrent, both good and bad, is not to recognize the problem.

I say, if I'm not misinterpreting John Cogley, there are laymen who want some simple directions from the Church to solve what are very hard problems that will not yield except to efforts in the disciplines which are necessary—such as technical, military and political disciplines.

CALLAHAN: Unfortunately, the layman can't wait until these complexities are worked out by the Church or by the technical disciplines. The Church is not going to solve all the problems for him and is not likely to give him a beautiful set of principles. He is very much on his own, forced to make decisions when he doesn't have all of the necessary information and when his principles are not clear. This is so often the situation of the Christian today. Perhaps we should just accept it and stop lusting after certainty from the Church. We are not going to get it.

FINN: It is the problem of the person in action, in search of theory, or, as I said before, it is practice in search of principle. The attempt to apply a principle immediately is often to apply an anachronistic principle to contemporary society.

HORCHLER: Our great ally in this effort is secularism. The Commonweal should have a special issue to say, "Thank God for secularism."

SHUSTER: What is that?

HORCHLER: I mean that the kind of function of the Church in the world which we have seen over the centuries is, I think, finished. The Church of the future is not going to operate as a kind of temporal power, as a political-economic bloc, which will impose a view or

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a posture on the way society determines its conduct. That is finished, but I don't think religion is finished. If religion is not finished, it means that it will have to work in the secularized world through individuals, citizens, who are, after all, the Church; *they* will function in society.

O'GARA: We have just time to go around the table once. Perhaps each one could use this opportunity to stress some point that has not been sufficiently emphasized or that needs more emphasis.

SKILLIN: One thing barely mentioned this afternoon, if it has been mentioned at all, is liturgical reform. It seems to me that the Church will be better able in the future to utilize the great talent that exists untapped in the American laity once the liturgical reform has really restored the layman to his true place in the prayer life of the Church. Once he has understood and achieved his due status, it seems to me the layman can be more influential in the conduct of the affairs of the Church as well.

HORCHLER: Talking about liturgical reform leads us to the redeveloping sense of Christian community that we are working on. This raises the problem of how a Christian community can exist where its members are a real and full part of a larger community which is not Christian. In other words, the question is, again, how religion is going to relate to secular culture. While we have looked back over the past several years and found a great many battles won or in the process of being won in terms of liturgical reform, the vernacular, freedom in the Church, and so on, I think that if we are on a plateau, we have a great range of mountains before us. I find the prospect frightening but also exhilarating. I think the Church must move into a wholly new conception of itself and how it is to function in a pluralistic world.

SHUSTER: I think I will take my point of departure from something that Gabriel Marcel has said. "The task of the present time is participation and not conformism." Our job is to find out what those words mean.

I think "participation" in terms of the life of the Church and of the liturgy is very clear. As for secular culture, I think I would say the change now taking place in terms of knowledge is so fast, it impinges in such a degree upon everything we say and do, that it is correct to say that our moment in time is a lost moment.

The change in the nature of the times is largely the change in the total dimensions of knowledge which have been brought to bear upon this time. Some of it is very limited in scope, but some of it is real. I think when we talk about "participation," we really also mean participation in the knowledge which is changing the time.

One of the still unsolved problems that we have to face in the United States is to make a share in this change effective without attaching too many labels to it for the time being. I think that the liturgy will sanctify the laity, but it will not directly sanctify the secular culture except to the extent we make it our culture. We haven't managed as yet.

CALLAHAN: I always find it almost overwhelming to ask myself: What should the Church be doing? Where is the Church going? What is the Church? These are the kinds of questions I constantly encounter and am never able to answer very clearly. I'm sure my problems are common ones.

It seems to me that one great tension today is between the idea of the individual as a self-directing, free person and the individual as a part of the collective whole. The kinds of strategies that one employs in directing one's self are not necessarily the kinds of strategies one uses when working with others. How can the Church give the layman a sense both of his own personality, of his individual existence before God, and a sense of his oneness with all of humanity.

The tension here is precisely that as soon as one begins talking in terms of oneness with humanity, the problem of collective action is raised, action which will usually involve the self-effacing of the individual for the good of the whole.

We run into an analogous problem in the authority of the Church—how can a person be a distinct, individual person, and yet at the same time be a person who is submissive to the authority of the Church? How can he be part of a whole and also a person in his own right? This is, for me, an unresolved problem.

LEO: It seems to me, particularly after this conversation, that we tend to expect a great deal less of the institutional Church, even though the Church machinery is getting its first overhaul in several centuries. The reason is, I think, that the long-run need is not so much for smoother, more liberal machinery, as it is for Christians who will give an adequate witness outside the framework of the Church. Mauriac said somewhere that he never had any problem with the Church as an institution—he just wasn't very impressed by it. The danger I see is that with the machinery being reformed, we will be tempted to do more by directive, fiat and excommunication when the real need is to produce convinced, free Catholics who won't need them.

CLANCY: These questions of the role of the institutional Church and of the witness of the individual believer are central to our problem. How does the Church, and how do we as individual Christians, live in and speak to a world that is finally secularized? We have talked much about the role of the Church in a pluralistic

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society. But what is the role of the Church, and what is the role of the individual Christian, in an atheistic society? This, I think, is the real problem we must face. Schopenhauer's dictum, "God is dead," is horrifyingly true for much of our world, and as Henri deLubac has said, it is likely to become even more true for the vast majority of men for thousands of years to come.

This practically atheistic world is the one Dietrich Bonhoeffer was describing when he wrote about a world that had finally "come of age" and had no further need for or interest in "religion"—religion being understood here in the sense of the sacral structure that supported societies in which the Faith still lived. It was Bonhoeffer's conviction that the traditional structures had no meaning for the future that led him to call for a "religionless" Christianity. I'm convinced we have entered upon the secularized age Bonhoeffer was describing, even though many of us don't recognize it yet. This is an age in which most men will dismiss the traditional structures—and answers—of religion as simply irrelevant to their new concerns. The question is, what kind of witness do we bear in such a world? We will not, I think, find an answer to this in examples from the past. We face a situation which is radically new.

This problem seems to me immediately pertinent to our American situation. Religious influence has been strong in American society, but the influence has, I think, been largely sociological rather than theological. It has drawn its strength from certain patterns of immigration, from consequent felt needs for social and cultural identification, and from regional traditions. But as these things dissolve—and they are dissolving rapidly—the traditional influence of religion in American life will disappear. What will replace it; or will a vacuum be left?

I fear that the average man in the latter part of the twentieth century will simply be bored with religion—that religion will seem to him merely a curious survival from a pre-scientific, authoritarian age. He will feel no interest in or need for it in his new, totally secular world. Can we so live and act and speak in such a world that our neighbor will see, and feel, the need for the Gospel. None of us knows the answer to this; but it is the question we must ask all the days of our lives.

FINN: Someone said he detected an air of triumphalism in our comments about The Commonweal or maybe Catholicism or religion in our society. I really think that is probably unjustified. As the last comment made clear, we have real questions rather than answers to some of the problems. If there is any reason to be pleased, it is because the questions to which we are addressing ourselves now have been raised by people around the table as essentially fundamental questions. They do not concern themselves with trivial events, the kind of things which have exercised all of us in the past perhaps too much.

Ernest Renan in the last century said "Christianity was a religion devised for the consolation of a few chosen souls." We would all abjure this as a description of Christianity. We see that Christianity, and specifically Catholicism, must speak to more than simply those few chosen souls who regard themselves as belonging to the Church. It must in some way make itself felt in the society. I believe that the society in which we are living and are likely to be living for some time will be a secular society.

When I say a "secular society," and when a number of other people say it, the term is not, of course, pejorative; it is simply descriptive. It is a society which recognizes and gives value to those things which are secular. Religion must seek and work in this society. It may not work as it did in the past, as Bill Clancy said, as an organized force. But it must be some kind of a force. It cannot simply be indifferent and neutral.

The question we are asking ourselves is what kind of a force this is. We belong to a hierarchical, institutional Church, which does speak and on occasion must speak for us, as laymen cannot speak for themselves. I see no way for this to disappear without bringing about a crisis of authority and more than that in the Church.

I think our whole problem is to see how we operate in the Church, as laymen bringing into the Church, and making it recognize, those things in the temporal order which are valuable in themselves, and also as laymen to take from the Church what it has to give, to recognize and insist upon values which are not insisted upon by institutions outside the Church. This is our problem is I see it. It is going to be our problem for a very long time.

COGLEY: Practically everything that has been said strikes me as coming down to the same thing, that there are big changes ahead for the world. There is, for example, the knowledge explosion which George Shuster has referred to; there are changes ahead in new conceptions of freedom, within the Church and without.

It seems to me that everything that has gone on up to now in the forty-year history of The Commonweal has been a kind of a prelude to the revolution now at hand. Everything that has gone on up to now seems pretty tame compared with the job ahead for The Commonweal in the next fifty years. I think that, as the others have said, this is because the Church is going to have to relate itself to a "post-Christendom" era. I don't think it will be a post-Christian era. It may in fact be the greatest of all Christian eras. Maybe we will finally come into the full Christian realization of what it means to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's.

"Christendom" as a concept is dying. You see signs

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of it at the Vatican Council. In one way or another the bishops are saying "'Christendom' is dead. Fellows, what are we going to do about it?"

One of the problems The Commonweal faces as a spokesman for some articulate Catholic laymen is this: How is the Church to relate itself to the "post-Christendom" era? What structural changes are necessary? What reforms are necessary? What changes in attitudes are necessary? What changes in discipline are necessary?

Therefore, I agree with Daniel Callahan's emphasis on giving more attention to the internal problems of the Church. But, on the other hand, I think we also have a second problem. That is, what happens to the individual Catholic during this interim period when the Church is adjusting to the new era? Here we have some of the really knotty problems because we must live with one foot in the old era and another foot in the new era. Many are very confused.

I think that not only are we Commonweal types confused, but other laymen and clergy are. Most of the bishops are confused because they too have their feet in two different eras at the same time. We are, all of us, a transitional generation. The Commonweal is in a transitional period. In the long run, though, the past forty years of The Commonweal will look like merely a prelude to the challenge which lies not in the magazine's past but in its future.

O'GARA: I think I would end my remarks by quoting another ex-editor who wasn't able to be with us, Philip Scharper, who summed up the problem as he saw it by saying "The Christian must always remember that he is likely to be the only copy of the Gospels that the non-Christian will ever see." The problem in today's world, it seems to me, is this: How do we show forth the Gospel? What form does this take? And with this said, I guess all that remains is to thank the former editors in the name of the present editors.

Report from Rome

Birth Control and the Council

GREGORY BAUM

EVEN BEFORE the schema on the Church in the modern world (formerly Schema 17, now Schema 13) was proposed to the Council, there was a good deal of opposition to it. Why were certain extremely conservative prelates, and especially members of the Roman Curia, so opposed? For many of them the Catholic Church is first of all an organized society in this world, a religious society surrounded by other societies, civil, religious, professional, etc. In this view, the advance of the Church and its influence in the world depend basically on the relation of Church leaders (i.e. the Holy See or the episcopate) to other societies and especially to their leaders. The Church advances by negotiations.

In Schema 13, the vision of the Church is rather different. Here the Church is the communion of men with the same faith, the same basic convictions, the same consciousness of their mission, living within the human family as brothers among brothers. The advance and the influence of the Church, in this context, is not dependent on diplomatic relations or convenient contracts, but on the impact of Christians, acting according to conscience, on their communities. In Schema 13, the Church understands herself to be so much part of the human family that the common good of Christians is not really distinct from the common good of humanity. Christians are to be a ferment within society, working among men, not to perfect the Church as an ecclesiastical institution, but to perfect society according to the end proper to it.

Expecting opposition, the great cardinals, Léger, Meyer, Suenens, Lercaro, Doepfner, Bea, etc., spoke with fervor at the opening of the discussion. The schema was of greatest importance, they said. It was a great achievement, but it had to be improved. With such backing, the schema was fairly safe. But a surprising attack came from Archbishop Heenan of Westminster, who called the document "not worthy of a Council." He proposed that a new commission be formed and that after four years, a new text be submitted to the Fathers. This was undoubtedly a severe criticism of Cardinal Suenens under whose patronage Schema 13 was conceived, recommended, and elaborated.

Archbishop Heenan also included in his attack the work of "a few theologians" who according to the Arch-

FATHER GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A. whose most recent book is *Progress and Perspectives* (Sheed & Ward), is now in Rome as a theological adviser at the Council.

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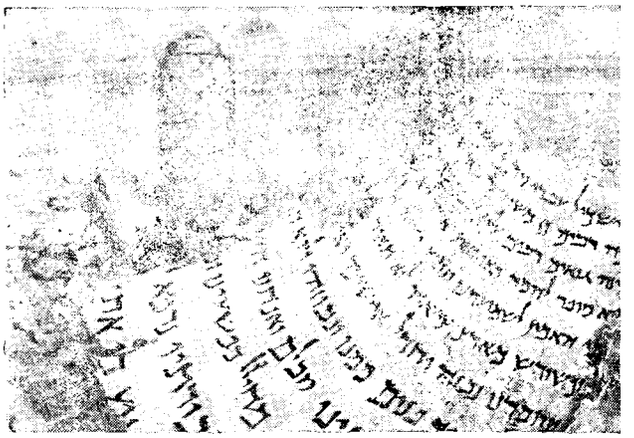

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bishop make a lot of noise in the world and confuse the faithful. Since Father Bernard Häring is the secretary of the commission responsible for Schema 13, it was not difficult to guess who was the main target of this attack. But by combining the attack on Schema 13 with the severe reprimand addressed to "a few theologians," Archbishop Heenan revealed his real reason for opposing the schema: he disagreed with the section dealing with marriage and the family. The English hierarchy, in contrast with other national episcopates, have made strong statements in recent months on the precise meaning of God's law in regard to married life and procreation, and it is not surprising that they were uneasy about the text of the schema which presented the problem without being willing and able to give a final solution.

The schema did not repeat the condemnations of contraception made by the Holy See in the past. It tried to relate, more closely than is usual in ecclesiastical documents, sexuality and conjugal love, and opened the way for finding a moral code for married life, not from biological considerations, but from the demands of conjugal love itself and the role of sexuality within married life. The schema did not pretend that the Church knew the answers to the urgent questions which married people all over the world ask.

Archbishop Heenan's attack was replied to the following day by several bishops: both Schema 13 and "the theologians" were defended with vigor. Even Archbishop Felici said a kind word about the theologians: which got him a round of applause. Then the vote was taken: Is the present Schema 13 to be accepted as a basis of discussion? The reply was an overwhelming Yes. The opposition could not rally more than 300 *non placet* voices.

WHAT IS the real theological *problematique* of the document? The question of family morality is incidental. The real question concerns the meaning and role of the world in the salvific plan of God. Here theologians are by no means agreed. In much Christian vocabulary, which follows the usage of the fourth Gospel, "the world" means mankind blinded by sin and ignorant of salvation. In contemporary Catholic theology (and there are parallels in some contemporary Protestant theology) much thought has been given to God's merciful action outside of the Church.

Reflecting on the definitive Yes which God has said to mankind in the Incarnation of His Son, in the universality of Christ's sacrifice and the once-for-allness of His victory in the Resurrection, these theologians say that with Jesus something has changed in the history of mankind. With Jesus, all mankind received a new orientation towards salvation and grace. Because of Christ, God's merciful action touches the hearts of all men. In the Church we know what God's will is, we know that his name is Love and that He desires to save and transform us; but this redemptive action of God which we joyfully acknowledge in the Church is present not only in the Church but in the entire human family.

If this is so, then the Church, in turning to the world, does not only meet her enemy there; she also encounters the wonderful things which God has already done there. The Christian, the man of faith, is able to detect the Gospel in some of the manifestations of human life and culture. God also speaks outside the Church; but until now we have not trained our ears to listen to Him in history, in the movements and developments of society, in the moral struggles of men.

These are the theological dimensions of the schema on the Church in the modern world. Our theological understanding of the world is not a purely theoretical question: a multitude of practical decisions depend on it. What is the mission of the Church in the world? What is our attitude to earthly values, to science, to human love? What is the condition of children born into this world? (Or, in technical language, what is the fate of dying unbaptized babies?)

The present schema tries to avoid this *problematique*. It takes a positive attitude towards the world, but it avoids presenting a theological foundation for it. For this reason the schema was criticized by certain Fathers for being groundlessly optimistic and by other Fathers for not really announcing the Good News about the meaning of creation. On the whole, the strong criticism raised by the most progressive cardinals and bishops (and/or the theologians who had written their speeches) was precisely that the schema did not go far enough in the direction of that tendency of contemporary theology —ably proposed by such men as Rahner and Schillebeeckx, and much discussed by the bishops—which acknowledges God's saving action in the human family and regards the Church as the visible sign and manifestation of what God wants to do and is doing in the whole of mankind.

We now come to October 29, a date to be remembered: the discussion opened on the paragraph dealing with marriage. Cardinal Ruffini was the first speaker. He accused the paragraph of being silent about the traditional doctrine of the Church. The next speaker was Cardinal Léger, and his message was reaffirmed after him by Cardinal Suenens and the Patriarch Maximos: we must re-examine our theology of marriage and human sexuality, the present position of the Church on family morality is not definitive.

During these three speeches, the Council was spellbound, electrified. Cardinal Suenens spoke with passion. He pleaded with the bishops not to be afraid of re-examining the traditional position. We do not want another Galileo case, he shouted; one is enough for the Church. There is an evolution of thought in this area as in any other. Patriarch Maximos insisted that today the Church teaches one thing and the majority of the

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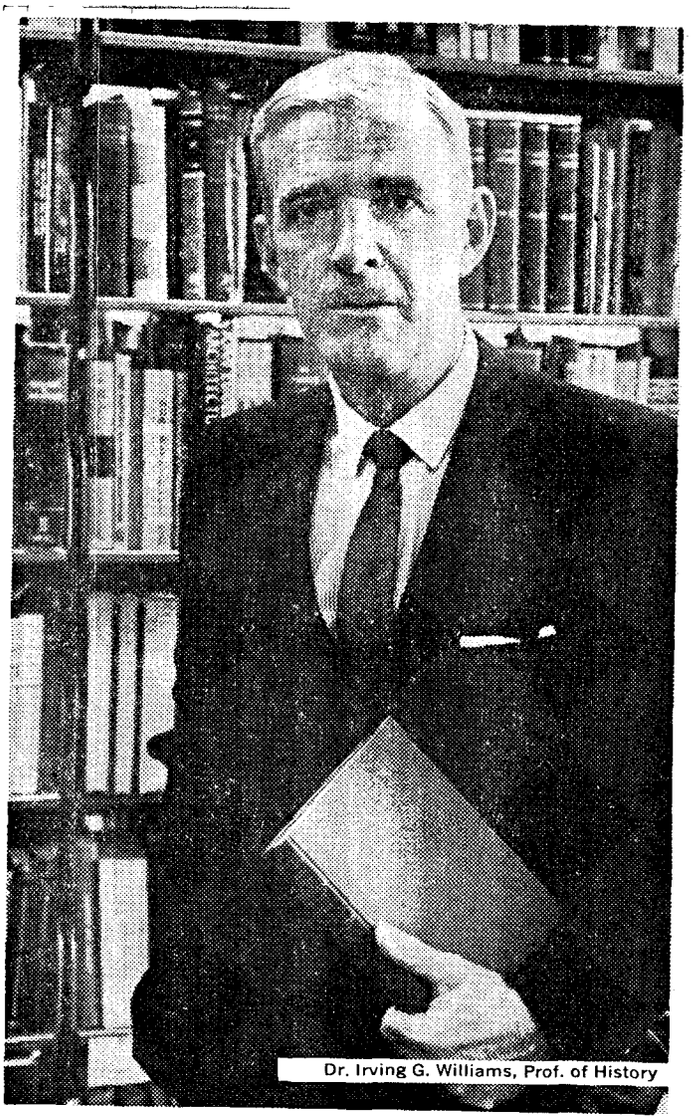

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faithful do another. We must change our moral teaching on marriage. The Church cannot discover the solution of a universal problem by isolating herself: we should engage in dialogue with other Christian Churches and, in fact, with the great leaders of other religions.

The speeches were received with applause. After the impassioned appeal of Cardinal Suenens, the bishops, especially those of them sitting more towards the doors, i.e., the younger bishops, kept up the applause for a long time, contrary to regulations.

The impression of these speeches in Rome, on the same day, cannot be exaggerated. The reaction of the theologians on the American bishops' press panel went through the world press: this is a turning point, this is a watershed—we are free to examine the meaning of sexuality in married life according to God's plan of salvation.

I SPOKE to bishops from various continents, many of whom felt greatly relieved. They realized that a time of uncertainty for the faithful was ahead, but they were convinced that we had to pass through this in order to find out what is God's will for His people in this area. The bishops were not altogether unprepared for the plea that the Church re-examine her position on birth control. A letter signed by over one hundred lay people, well known men of science, publishers, teachers and lawyers, had been sent to the Fathers of the Council.

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In it the lay people plead with their pastors not to be hasty in judging the content of the natural law regarding sexuality in married life. With the advance of science and the growth of our awareness of our personhood, what appeared natural at one time may turn out to be, on a deeper level, against nature; and what at one time had seemed to violate the laws of nature may, after greater insight, turn out to be in harmony with it. Then there was the book *Contraception and Holiness* (Herder & Herder), which had arrived in Rome two weeks previously. Many of the English-speaking bishops had read it.

The conciliar discussion continued for a brief space of time. The Fathers were asked to send their observations in writing. Among the prelates who supported the plea of Léger, Suenens and Maximos, Cardinal Alfrink and Bishop Reuss, who spoke in the name of a large number of bishops from all over the world, were outstanding.

What were the principal objections which these Council Fathers raised against the traditional Catholic view? I shall try to summarize some of them briefly.

1) Cardinal Léger and Patriarch Maximos rejected the teaching that procreation and conjugal love must be regarded as primary and secondary ends of marriage respectively. These two ends of marriage are intimately connected and oriented towards one another, and this mutuality does not permit them to be considered hierarchically-ordered as primary and secondary.

2) Cardinal Léger suggested that the fecundity towards which married love is ordered be regarded as a moral criterion for the total orientation of marriage, rather than for each individual act.

3) Bishop Reuss insisted that sexuality in man is essentially different from purely biological sexuality. Man's sexuality is human and hence serves not simply the propagation of the human race but determines his personal relationship to another and his place in society.

4) Several speakers insisted that the understanding of personhood and the autonomy which this implies, have grown in our times, and that therefore marriage must be regarded above all as an interpersonal relationship. This is, in fact, appreciated in the present schema where the sexuality in married life is acknowledged as an essential factor in building up the unity between two persons and as a source of strength in the sacrifices demanded by family life. The present schema says that even when a married couple realizes that for the time being they should not have another child, it may still be irresponsible for them to abstain from sexual union.

5) Cardinal Alfrink admitted in his speech that many good and approved theologians of our day are not convinced by the arguments intending to prove that it is intrinsically evil to interfere with the biological unity of the marriage act.

Even though the speeches by the various Cardinals and bishops were made independently of one another,

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there did emerge a certain consensus among them, at least regarding the approach in which the question must be studied. Cardinal Suenens, and others with him, asked for a widening of the study commission, insisted that they collaborate with the Pope's as yet secret private committee in examining the question, and asked that their names be made known so that the Christian people from all parts of the world could reach them and submit their reflections to them. The study commission must be truly representative of God's people, he said.

The traditional position was defended at the Council especially by Cardinals Ruffini, Ottaviani and Browne. Their principal argument was, and it is a powerful one indeed, that in the matter of conjugal morality the Church has already spoken and hence it cannot be questioned or re-examined.

This raises a real question. There are undoubtedly many good and faithful Catholics who firmly believe that the Church has committed herself definitively in this matter and who will have anguish and doubts regarding the entire Christian message as they read about the conciliar debate in their newspapers. We must ask the question: Is the Church's infallibility involved in her teaching on family morality? The answer is NO. Here are the reasons:

1) The Church receives the assistance of the Spirit to teach infallibly the saving revelation of God, i.e. the faith and morals which Jesus has announced to us. The Church also teaches with infallibility in matters which are essential to the defense of the Gospel in the world. But her teachings regarding natural wisdom and the meaning and content of the natural law, however true they may be, and however authoritative her voice in proclaiming them, are not and can never be infallible. There are areas where the Church teaches with authority without claiming to speak infallibly.

2) The present position on family morality belongs to the ordinary teaching of the Holy See. Since the 19th century, this teaching authority, though by no means claiming infallibility, has obliged Catholics, the bishops and the faithful, to be obedient to it, that is to cease reflecting on, studying, discussing matters thus proposed. They are to be regarded as settled. The reason why the present position on family morality was taught universally in the Church was not because in each part of the Church bishops with the help of their people had reflected on the issue and come to a common conviction, but rather because one position, namely that of the Holy See, was made obligatory.

The doctrine of collegiality which has emerged at the Council means, among other things, that in teaching there is also a sharing, a discussion, a common search among the bishops; and even if the ordinary teaching of the Holy See retains a particular authority, it never precludes the contribution which the bishops all over the world want to make to these issues. We must admit

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that the tragic situation in which the Catholic people find themselves in this question of family morality is due to the fact that the Holy See has decreed, for good historical reasons, that its non-infallible teaching be regarded as the last word, thus preventing the bishops from listening to the Spirit, wrestling with the truth themselves, questioning the echo of the Gospel in their faithful people, and thus leading the entire Church, progressively, to a common conviction produced by the Spirit. If Pope Pius XI had been aware of the doctrine of collegiality and reflected on the pursuit of truth of the whole of God's people, he, the supreme teacher in the Church, would not have written his encyclical *Casti Connubii* as he did.

3) There is a third reason why we can be sure that the infallibility of the Church is not involved in her position on family planning. This is a practical one. It cannot be an irreformable and unchanging doctrine of the Church if, at a solemn moment at an ecumenical council, cardinal after cardinal and bishop after bishop gets up to propose that the entire position be re-examined.

The Church is passing through great suffering. What must the Catholic people do? In times of crisis, when our conscience is unsure, we must, more than ever in our lives, draw closer to Jesus Christ as we encounter Him in the liturgy of the Church, listen to His words and meet Him at His banquet. He, the living Lord speaking in His Church, will tell us where we are selfish and in which way lies the way of obedience to Him. Christ, as He is mediated to us through the Church at worship, preaching the Gospel, will form our conscience on the great decisions in our lives.

THE STAGE

Indigestible Meals

THE TWO great American heresies are, of course, that anything that can be eaten can be eaten with ice cream, and that anything that can be staged can be staged to music. Two examples of heresy #2 are currently hawking their indigestible doctrines in the New York area.

The first is "Golden Boy" by Clifford Odets, a play about a young man who escapes from the slums into the gaudier slum of professional boxing. Of all the authors who do not go with ice cream, Odets is surely the first. The only music to be heard in his world is cracked dance music on a wind-up victrola: anything lusher than that, anything that might suggest space and money and ease of movement, destroys the atmosphere utterly.

So we are off to an unpromising start. The source of power in an Odets play is precisely the sense of physical entrapment: the feeling that it is physically impossible

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to get out of the Bronx. (An afternoon in Jersey is an odyssey, yet.) You couldn't possibly hold a musical number in an Odets set, because you would bump into the rented sofa, and wake the neighbors, and besides, what's to sing about?

This sense of congestion has to be negated at every turn by the liquidity and mechanical jubilation of the Broadway musical theater. Sammy Davis slithers across the stage like mercury. Money is loose and near at hand in his world, not frozen and remote; the depression is over, baby.

A play so sociologically minded might have realized this. It means that the stock properties of depression drama—the sensitive boy in the concrete playground, the impregnable penthouse up yonder, the sense that the good life can only be obtained by some desperate gesture—need to be re-phrased and re-imagined. And this would be a tall order for a musical, which must move quicker than a play and lean more heavily on instantaneous recognitions and pre-digested situations.

"Golden Boy" is reported to have taken a great deal of rewriting—and small wonder. The dialogue is in two distinct period styles, like a bad historical novel. Every recognizable remnant of Odets jars on us, and the rewriting must have consisted chiefly of whittling away at these. The real wonder is that anyone bothered to keep Odets at all since, without his favorite note, he was not a very good writer—but this brings us to the whole question of adaptation.

The powers behind "Golden Boy" must have realized at some point that the original was holding it back, that they could have made a better musical without it. Yet they continued to perform the most agonizing contortions to hang onto at least some of it. The original premise, that the problems of a violinist in the '30's can be equated with those of a Negro non-violinist in the '60's, lets them in for a most strenuous evening of artifice. The missing violin becomes a running embarrassment: we still have overtones of the original sell-out, but it isn't clear what is being sold-out, if it isn't art. The race situation is not properly developed as a violin-substitute, presumably because the Odets play has nothing to do with the race situation. In the climactic scene, Golden Boy's father is mysteriously contemptuous of his son's prize-fighting endeavors: and the violin would surely help to explain this (ruining your hands on some nudnick's skull, you should be ashamed, etc.) except that there is no violin.

The interesting point is that there is enough talent on tap to have made a very good musical if hands and feet hadn't been tied by the script. The score by Charles Strauss and Lee Adams is almost up to their "Fiorello" standard. Sammy Davis, Jr. is like a decathalon champion who runs the mile in 4 minutes, 20 seconds, pole vaults 12 feet, etc.—everything he does can be done better by someone else, but put them all together and

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you have something pretty outstanding. Billy Daniels is not too convincing as a straight crook, but as a musical crook he is fine. Paula Wayne is suitably raspy as the girl friend, and Jamie Rogers does some mean-looking dance steps in the main bout at the end.

With all this going for it, "Golden Boy" needed only a book that would swing with it, reinforce the same points the music is making, do a little preaching if it wants, but in terms of the latest styles in poverty and race. Why the management felt compelled to tether it instead to a book that could only spell disaster, and—as if to make disaster doubly sure—to update the book, a book that belongs stubbornly to its period, are questions that only an adapter can answer. If the answer has something to do with a failure of nerve, the failure looks at least like being a lucrative one. Mr. Odets died only a short time ago, and his name if not his memory is still fresh coin in these parts. *(At the Majestic)*

Walter Mitty goes "Golden Boy" one better, since it is questionable whether Thurber's incomparable story can be staged at all. As Mitty refuses the final blindfold, he is alone and inscrutable to the last; but a play can only make him surrounded and scrutable—by giving him a wife, a setting, an explanation. The original is so light and elusive that we barely know what Mitty looks like: he is all name and no face. (Any face would be a let down.)

And any flesh that is put on this beautiful idea is going to seem gross. In this particular production Mitty (Mark London) looks harassed, but we feel that Mitty shouldn't exactly look harassed. And he certainly shouldn't have a mother-in-law. It is much too easy to make his wife a shrew: she is only any woman who happens to be married to Walter Mitty. There is absolutely no drama in any of this, let alone a solution. It is all beautifully static, inconclusive and irresolute—a Grecian urn with a Thurber drawing on it. And try putting that on the stage.

Writing versions of Walter Mitty is like writing verses to "You're the Top"—none of them will be quite hopeless, and none of them will be quite right either. But this version turns into quite an entertaining show once it has heaved off from Thurber altogether. The score is exceptionally good, and Catherine Damon is everything that Gwen Verdon is supposed to be, as one Willa de Wisp (you will see from this name where the play stands in relation to Thurber). Lorraine Serabian as a neurotic scold brings an intensity to Agnes Mitty that would be totally irrelevant in a faithful version, but is not without interest in this one.

The curious point I should like to note is that the lines that grate are the lines from Thurber. They do not belong in this play at all. *(At the Players Theater)*

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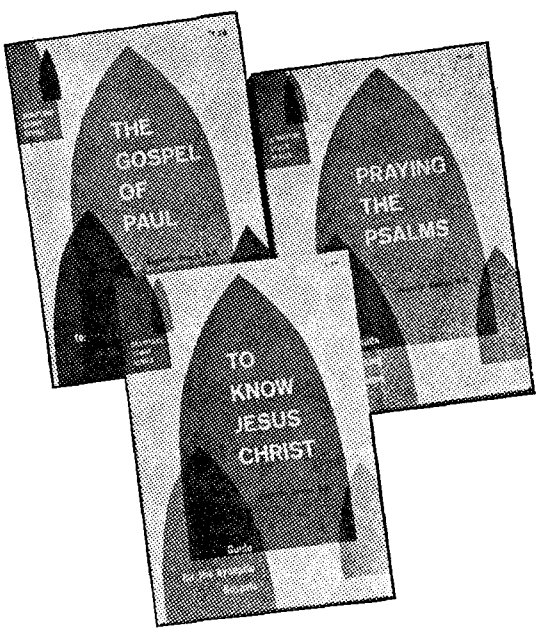

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THE SCREEN

Marriage on the Rocks

IT IS BY no means the best picture in the world, but it has one of the most fascinating ideas. However, since I am a push-over for movies that tell the same story from several different points of view (like Alfred Leslie's long-short, "The Last Clean Shirt," or like "Rashomon" and its recent American version, "The Outrage"), I may be prejudiced. In any case, "Anatomy of a Marriage," made by Andre Cayatte, the French director whose films often concern themselves with legal matters and justice in this dark world and wide, goes a step farther; it is actually two movies, of some ninety minutes each, coving the beginning, middle, and end of a seven-year marriage. "My Nights with Francoise" tells the story from the husband's point of view, and "My Days with Jean-Marc" follows the wife's version. That "Nights" and "Days" stuff in the titles is not particularly indicative; it's the years that count, and it seems that this incompatible couple are rather dim-witted about realizing there's much, much more to a marriage than sex.

It really doesn't matter which film you see first. In New York they are being shown at different theaters with one ticket admitting you to both. At the preview, however, for no real reason the men were sent first to Jean-Marc's version while the women suffered with Francoise. For "Anatomy" to make its point, nevertheless, you must see both movies. Regardless of the order, it is when you see the second that you discover the differences in the husband's and wife's interpretation of a single incident and the differences in their selection of recollections and significant details. The husband sees himself as the years go by as an idealistic lawyer anxious to help mankind, not just win a case; he is willing to sacrifice himself to his wife's whims until she gets a publicity job and begins to tear around with other men. The wife sees herself as a devoted wife and mother tied down to an ineffectual nincompoop with whom she's willing to put up until he becomes absurdly jealous of her male business friends.

Andre Cayatte has directed his movies well, but neither is particularly startling as a film, and it is rather difficult to appraise the acting because we never know which character we can actually believe as we watch the two versions. Attractive Marie-Jose Nat as the wife seems to give the better performance; at least her portrait is the brighter and more lively of the two. But boyishly-handsome Jacques Carrier as the husband is probably equally skillful as an actor since in his version he plays the self-sacrificing young man who matures well as his standards rise, while in her version he is only a petulant and incompetent lawyer who resents her high salary and friends. Since Cayatte was also one of the

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writers of "Anatomy of a Marriage," I wish he had made his characters more interesting and had raised the stories themselves higher than the soap opera level. I'm not sure that these tales are worthy of three hours movie time. But perhaps Cayatte is saying that life is more like a soap opera than we think. This His-and-Hers film may be a trick, but it is a thought-provoking trick.

No trick is "The Finest Hours"—as fine a documentary film as you'd ever want to see; although perhaps all movies, what with their optical illusions, editing, and gimmicks in the sound track, are tricks. The finished result, however, in this English documentary about Winston Churchill, is first-rate. Producer Jack Le Vien, director Peter Baylis, scriptwriter Victor Wolfson, and their large staff have gathered newsreel clips, snips of old movies, some new footage, and still photographs and put them all together so skillfully that "The Finest Hours" seems to be an exciting, brand new film about one of the most exciting men of our time. Although I found the whole picture engrossing, in spite of its too-long, almost two-hour length, it was the first part that held me spellbound with its reconstruction of Churchill's ancestry, family, parents, boyhood, and youth—and with its lovely shots of England, Blenheim, Harrow. Some of these scenes are in black-and-white and some in beautiful color, but they are so well edited and re-photographed that one is almost unaware of their change in tone. And this part of the film has an elegance and style that recall the past with nostalgic beauty.

I don't mean to depreciate the later part of the picture that follows Churchill's career in politics, or his great roles in World War I and II. There are many more scenes of the man in action, in meetings, giving his famous talks, and at play and leisure too. It is in this later section of the documentary that the sound track takes over so effectively. The narration throughout is well read by Orson Welles, but when it comes to the Churchill speeches, the film soars. Perhaps no other man of letters has made speeches like his—with phrases for the ages: "blood, toil, tears and sweat," "we shall fight on the beaches," "this was their finest hour," "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few," and on and on and on. Whenever possible the spoken words of Sir Winston were taken from his records, but also effective are the Churchill statements as spoken by Patrick Wymark in successful emulation.

You may feel at times that the British are tooting their own horns too loudly in this well-made documentary, but remember that Churchill is their boy. And he's ours too, as you will be reminded in the scene near the finale with President Kennedy when Mr. Churchill was made the first honorary citizen of the United States. Altogether "The Finest Hours" is a most satisfactory movie, and it deserves special commendation for its success in making its hero a man as well as an outstanding figure of history.

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—John B. Sheerin, Editor
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A Grammar of Dissent from the Nineteeth Century

Newman's Apologia, A Classic Reconsidered. Edited by Vincent F. Blehl, S. J., and Francis X. Connolly. Harcourt. $4.50.

by Garry Wills

THE VICTORIAN Age seems, at times, a period of giant, flawed teachers who brought forth a breed of pigmy, flawed students. It was a time when Jowett was Swinburne's master. Ruskin, Carlyle, Arnold, Mill, Macaulay, Tennyson, Dickens—each came before his audience garbed in an extraordinary authority, a "prophet" of civilization helping to create the Victorian religion of decorum. Yet somehow this lofty moral tone died away in the flutings and limp posturings of Pater and Rossetti, Symons and Beardsley.

The great teachers were surprisingly sterile—something appropriately imaged in the fact that so few of them had children. The emotional imbalance and barrenness of these bachelors, or of married virgins like Ruskin and Carlyle, are a part of the price that was paid for maintaining the precarious idealism of the century – an idealism that helped men hide from themselves the ugly realities of an inhuman economic and scientific and imperial opportunism.

It was a time of pale Tennysonian princesses, of Pre-Raphaelite Beatrices, of Ruskin's and Dickens' "nymphets" (Lolita was a familiar figure in literary history long before her appearance in American fiction). It was also a time of voracious factories, their machines nodding (as Dickens put it) "like melancholy mad elephants"; a time of child labor, of cold Malthusian social planning; of naive rationalism and Bible-baiting somehow coexisting with a substanceless religiosity. The best of times, and the worst.

Reading the desperately eloquent Victorians can be a heartbreaking experience. At times, it tempts one to think Newman was the only sane man in the period. But the matter cannot be put so simply. He may, indeed, have ended his life as the least flawed of the great age's great ones, since he was the most honest with himself. But we shall never know the extent of that victory unless we place him in his period, and recognize that the fault-lines of literary England run through the lower strata of his personality. He resonated intimately to his surroundings, surroundings which were sometimes fairly atingle with hysteria.

Sir Geoffrey Faber, in his life of Jowett, has reminded us how monolithically masculine was the Oxford of the nineteenth century—how long the university fellows had to delay marriage if they meant to become dons; how isolated the dons' wives were from the life of dining hall and common room and summer reading party (for the hermetic enclosure was, for many, not punctured even in the Long Vacation). In this exclusively masculine company there also occurred that drop in masculine ideals which Chesterton has noticed in the Victorian novel—the transformation of the form of Smollett and Fielding into that of Ouida and Mrs. Oliphant, into the dandyism of Thackeray and the lachrymosity of Dickens. When a decidedly "masculine" figure appears, he is, significantly, part of a woman's fantasy—Heathcliff, the dream-figure come to indict the real men of his day.

In such an Oxonian sweetness, Newman's love of intellectual battle —(how like him to issue Achilles' challenge when he comes back into the arena)—makes him seem, even at this distance, a breath of fresh air in a closed room. Yet, though he opposed this effete atmosphere, he was also at home in it. Nor did he ever really depart from it; for we find it again in the emotional tensions and wrangling of the Oratory. Two of the many sides of Newman are symbolized in his militant prose and his sentimental verse. As undergraduates, he and his best friend Bowden wrote stilted plays about doomed lovers. ("The faint wild shriek with which she sounds his name . . .") Bowden, when he married, used to slip up often, and call his wife "John."

Devotion was freely given to Newman, the mesmeric controversialist at Oxford; but, as John's sister reminds us, he came to *demand* the allegiance from anyone who had once given it. After he left Oxford, he was surounded by devout second-raters, like Ambrose St. John. He had no intellectual equal with whom he could engage in the frank exchange of ideas and get useful criticism—a thing which helps explain the increasingly private volcabulary he developed. The age tended to isolate its "prophets" anyway; and Newman's conversion, his celibacy, his life in a volatile and childish community of English eccentrics affecting Italian devotions (Faber wanted people to call the Blessed Virgin "Mama"), helped strand him even further upland than most of the lonely eminences of his day.

I am not trying to reinstate Geoffrey Faber's all-too-pat Freudian reading of the Oxford Movement, after Christopher Dawson's trenchant criticism of it. But some of the questions Faber raised are important and deserve consideration (typically, his book does not even appear in the general bibliography with which the publishers pad this slim volume). There *is*, for instance, no excuse for the fact that none of this century's insights into the working of the human mind are brought to bear on Newman in Meriol Trevor's fat and informative, but impregnably obtuse, two volumes of biography.

Catholic students of Newman are all too often unaware of the historical circumstances in which their hero worked—the odds against which he composed the compellingly musical argument that is his life. It would, no doubt, be an exaggeration—(but no more than the opposite ones indulged in by Catholic critics, with their deeply-ingrained hagiographical instincts) – to say Newman wrote uniquely balanced work in the middle of Bedlam. It is often remarked that there was a high incidence of

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madness in the great authors of the time. One might add that one of Newman's brothers and two of his closest followers—Dalgairns and St. John—ended their lives raving. So, oddly enough, did Msgr. Talbot, one of Newman's harshest foes, who once had thought of joining his Oratory.

Catholics tend to lift the *Apologia* out of its context. They compare it, say, with Augustine's *Confessions* (the facile, deeply misleading linking of these volumes is renewed several times in the book I review), rather than with Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera*. Yet the prophet's urgent need to reveal his mission to an unbelieving world—the Ruskinian afflatus of the *Fors*—was felt by Newman long before, and entirely apart from, the indiscretions of Kingsley, which gave him his opportunity. (Martin Svaglic rightly stresses that fact in the first essay of this volume; he might have gone even further back than he does—to letters written ten years before the *Apologia* period.

In the same way, Catholics immediately jump from the *Grammar* to St. Thomas, or from questions of style to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. (There is one essay here that sorts out examples of the Aristotelian "ethical argument" in the *Apologia*. Another paper forbiddingly assures us that "the *Apologia* may legitimately be studied for its rhetorical devices," and launches into such fresh, revealing comparisons as the following: "If Newman was Demosthenian in his tendency to present ideas dramatically, he was Ciceronian in his cultivation of a personal style").

This book prints eight short papers delivered at a Fordham symposium—delivered it is not clear to whom. They do not offer an introduction for the novice—which would entail biographical background and a discussion of the terms that are confusing in Newman's special usage—"reason," for instance, and "liberalism," and "probability." Nor are the papers, most of them, those of scholars addressing their peers. They are up-and-down in quality and intention. Some of the best ones are the most peripheral—on the original reviewers' reactions, for instance, or the covert blows dealt by Newman in the direction of the Ultra-Montanes.

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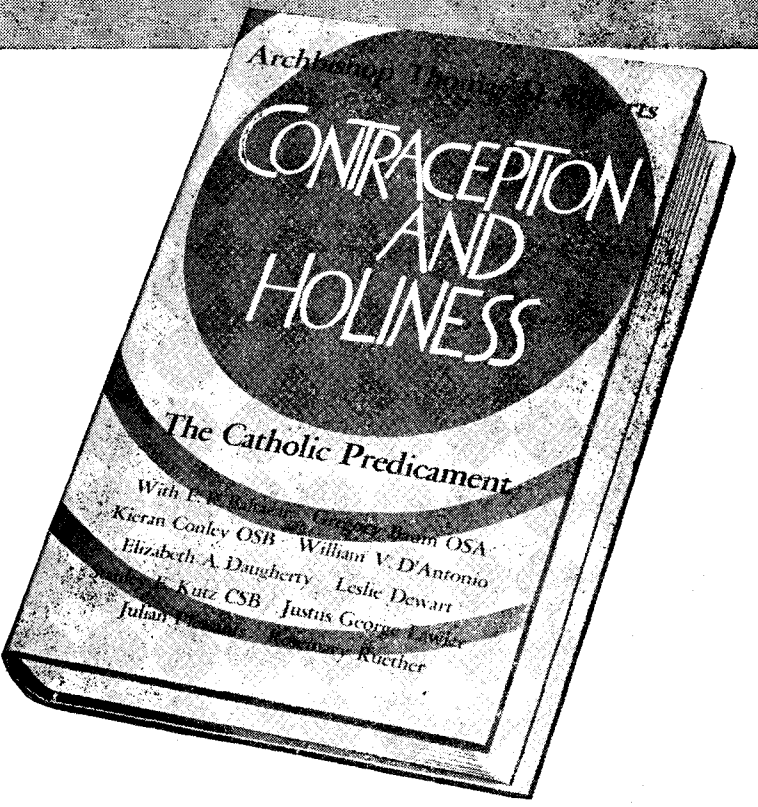

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We still need a study of the logic of the *Apologia*, which is simply a compression of the logical pattern of Newman's whole prophetic mission. The book is a grammar of his dissent from the nineteenth century; the moment for which he had lived; the delivery of his message. This explains the odd air of exultation that mixes with his original, aggrieved pose. Even his weaknesses are turned to strengths here as the sensitive man enters that combat for which all the bickerings at Oxford and in the Oratory had been an unlikely preparation. As Chesterton somewhere remarks of him, he had shed too many tears in his Oxonian cloisters; but "like all brave men, when he saw the face of battle, he began to laugh."

In the Vein of Mark Twain

Little Big Man. By Thomas Berger. Dial Press. $5.95.

by William James Smith

LESLIE FIEDLER is going to love this one. There's been nothing like the Little Big Man since Huck Finn clumb up on that raft. There hasn't been anything like it in the mystic rapprochement of the races since Ishmael bunked down with Queequeg in the Spouter-Inn. There is even a homosexual Indian in Mr. Berger's book to propose a union less than mystic. The Little Big Man, however, like Huck and Ishmael before him, takes a more austere view of the matter. Not to be outdone, though, in the physical aspects of the racial meeting, Mr. Berger's hero marries first a flaxen-haired Swedish girl and then the Indian widow of a fallen redskin friend, begetting blond and black-haired young impartially. If *Little Big Man* were not such a good book it might very well be taken as a lengthy joke on Mr. Fiedler's reading of American literature.

All of which gives a rather misleading view of *Little Big Man*. Its author obviously has his tongue in his cheek a great deal of the time but his humor for the most part is in a much broader vein, the vein of Mark Twain, the frontier humor of saloon and campfire. It is the Western to end all Westerns, with all of the Western's clichés neatly reversed into something quite new.

The Little Big Man himself is Jack Crabb, son of a mad pioneer preacher. At the age of 111, he is recalling his adventures from the vile bondage of a wheelchair in a state hospital. It all begins as Jack treks westward with his family along about 1850. The boy falls into the hands of the Cheyenne after a massacre and spends his formative years for all practical purposes as an Indian. The rest of the novel is the story of Jack's ambivalence of loyalties. "Rescued" by the whites and sent to live with yet another preacher, Jack is not able to accept the mores of the white Christian world. At the same time he has no illusions as to the barbarism of his Indian friends.

He moves from one world to the other without finding a home in either. Seeking revenge on the Indians for his kidnapped Swedish wife, he discovers her ensconced as head wife in the tepee of an old companion and decides he is happy enough with the group of Indian wives he has subsequently acquired. When General Custer annihilates his Indian family at the battle of the Washita (all the incidents are historically accurate), Jack vows vengeance on Custer but falters when the opportunity arises and ends up fighting beside the legendary hero at the Battle of Little Bighorn. Jack, in point of fact, turns out to be the only survivor of that famous Last Stand and once again in the hands of dubiously friendly Indians. Unfortunately, at this point in his narrative old Jack Crabb keels over in his wheelchair and the rest is silence except for a few aspersions on the veracity of the whole thing by his contemporary editor.

Old Jack has a convincing enough reality for us, however, even if his name cannot be found in any historical records. Mr. Berger makes him real even when he is at his most preposterous—in a showdown with Wild Bill Hickok, for example, or in a put-down by Wyatt Earp.

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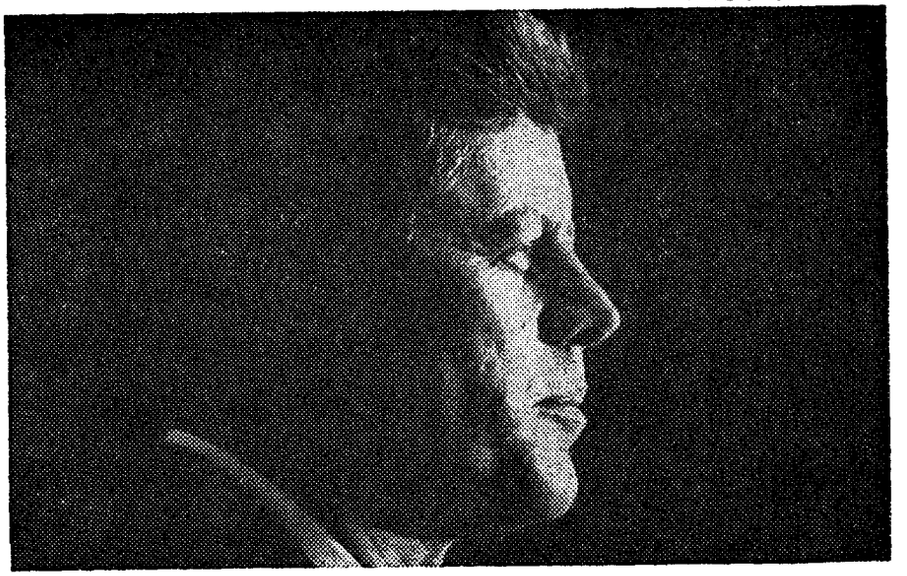
Little Big Man is a hard book to classify, if indeed that is an exercise of any value. It is not really a historical novel, though it can be read as such with genuine cowboys-and-Indians excitement. On the other hand, it is not a purely humorous novel, any more than *Huck Finn* is —and which it resembles. Jack Crabb himself says of Mark Twain at one point that he was a writer not noted for his understatement. And neither is Mr. Berger, who is always tumbling over into farce, even when he is at his most serious. Mr. Berger established himself as a brilliant comic novelist with his first two books, *Crazy in Berlin* and *Reinhart in Love*. *Little Big Man* enlarges his talent significantly.

Humor is seldom more than one-dimensional, but Mr. Berger's humor is, in ways that are not immediately apparent. One discounts, of course, the surface *naïveté* of the narrative as an amusing novelistic device, but is left with the feeling that behind that there is a secondary *naïveté* far less in control of the material. Cumulatively, however, one begins to suspect that that second level of innocence is a little deceptive in itself. Innocent it is, but it is sly, too—or perhaps shrewd is the word.

All of Mr. Berger's heroes are frankly confused and scarcely up to the decisions of life, but they are real heroes, not the "anti" variety. Neither they nor their author indulge in any surface "sophistication." Mr. Berger doesn't write Nabokovian prose or ring allusive overtones. There is no sex in his books, at least by contemporary standards of explicitness. One would suspect that if Mr. Berger reads contemporary fiction he is not much taken with it. Though he is modern enough in his way—none of his novels could be called well-made—he seems essentially to be a literary throwback to an earlier period, to Twain himself perhaps, Twain without those famous inhibitions. He is without Twain's pessimism, too, and is all in all, very distinctively his own voice. And perhaps his humor is a little subtler than Twain's, for all its slapstick obviousness. As a matter of fact—maybe Mr. Berger really is pulling Mr. Fiedler's leg.

Photograph by Jacques Lowe



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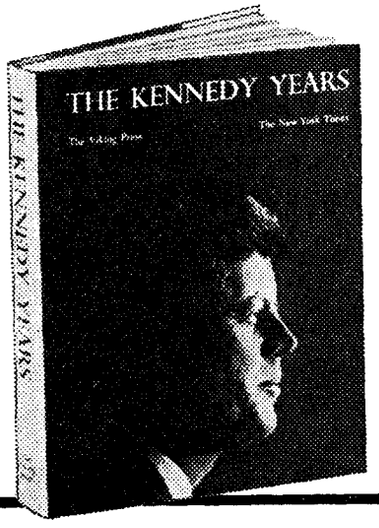

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Whether or not—*Little Big Man* is a big and funny and impressive book. It may well establish itself as a new American classic.

The Lay Voice

The Experience of Marriage. Edited by Michael Novak. Macmillan. $3.95.

by J. D. Conway

THIS BOOK is a challenge to thinking, demands answers and will provoke controversy. It deals with subjects which are highly controversial, but the book itself is patently honest, intimately revealing, and generally highly edifying.

One might object, indeed, that this book's anonymous authors, representing thirteen married couples, are not typical Catholics. They are rather the elite: well educated, intellectually alert, morally sensitive, knowledgeable about their religion, mature and unselfish in their marital attitudes. And despite their protests against calendar tyranny, "sexual brinkmanship" and celibate-centered theology, twelve of the thirteen are adhering strictly to traditional norms of morality, some even to the extent of total abstinence. I would certainly like to have all thirteen couples as members of my parish, even Mrs. F who may have rationalized her marital problems just a bit too thoroughly.

The thirteen couples, designated as A, B, etc., are generally not acquainted with the editor personally nor with each other. Mr. Novak contacted them by letter outlining his plan for the book. He holds it "obvious that discussions of the role of sexuality in Catholic marriage have suffered from too much theory and too little fact." And he believes that empirical studies can be useful to the theologian, at least in that area of his science which borrows from philosophy. So he asks that these couples tell frankly the role that sex has had in their own married lives, the happiness it has given them, their success or difficulties in mutual adjustment, and their problems with family planning.

Sometimes both husband and wife write, and in one case they disagree. Sometimes only one partner writes. The stories are easy to read, and when you take them in rapid succession a thread of uniformity is discernible: they are all replies to the same letter. And still the editor is correct in saying that the book is "happily diverse and uneven." Each style is distinct, each problem different, each solution personal in manner of attainment, though nearly all result in rhythm.

The editor cautioned that the volume should not be a polemic against present Church discipline, yet the predominant note, recurring with varied force and frequency in every story, is a complaint against rhythm. It mechanizes love, makes free man a slave to biology, creates insecurity and worry, is generally unreliable, causes alternations of forced indifference and pretended desire, threatens the quality and harmony of marital love, and deprives it of much of its playfulness, joy and spontaneity. It makes husband and wife sex-conscious, tends to turn love into lust, and substitutes the tyranny of a graph for the personal response of generous love.

Rhythm is held to be unfair. Those who abstain most, have the most children. Those who are under greatest stress are the ones who must make greatest sacrifice of marital consolations. And the method is most practical when it is least needed; hardest to follow when its use is imperative.

Another frequent complaint is about the quality of sex education given in many Catholic homes and schools: its puritanism and its negativism. Some couples complain of anxieties resulting from parental sex tensions, and a general feeling that sex is something dirty, merely tolerated in marriage for the purpose of procreation.

All the couples have a striking awareness of the mutuality of the sex relationship in marriage. Each husband and wife has remarkable sensitivity and concern for the happy satisfaction of the partner. Indeed they find the moral dimension of sex in its orientation to the other person. It is a mutual donation in which each seeks the good of the other. It is an indispensable part of marital love, a vital need for expressing, sus-

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taining and strengthening the marriage bond, essential to maintaining monogamy and to creating a harmonious home in which children can be rightly raised.

Virtuous self-control and self-sacrifice is demanded by this "other-oriented" attitude towards marital sex, and if rightly exercised extends itself into other activities of married life. The restraint imposed by the calendar is unnatural to marriage and tends to destroy its interpersonal harmony.

Two stories stand out for opposite reasons: that of Mrs. F, because she uses contraception; and that of Mr. and Mrs. E, who find that their practice of rhythm presents no particular problem.

Though she is the black sheep, Mrs. F has an article well worth reading. She adopted contraception only after rhythm had failed, and after she had lived in suppressed rage for five years under "biological tyranny . . . trying to conform to standards which were an insult to my intelligence and my feelings." Her mother, a daily communicant, had taught her that this was a private problem anyway. Personalist morality may have been easier when there was less writing on this subject.

Mr. and Mrs. E have six children from their nine years of marriage; but Mr. E, a lay theologian, thinks sex is much overrated as the integrating feature of married life. Mrs. E's only problem is that rhythm is "simply one big nuisance." Counting is so much trouble.

Mr. L, an ex-seminarian, while challenging theologians to attain a true and realistic understanding of marital problems, assures them that he will accept their word when they have given it. He has given up trying to understand the ethics of rhythm; he cannot explain it to Protestants or Jews; but when the Church speaks he is content to appear ridiculous. Her word is enough.

The theological attitudes of our thirteen couples are only side issues of varying value. The purpose of the book is to make clear what sex in marriage means to those who have lived it three years or twenty, with one child or ten, facing problems great or small. Any pastor could give

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cases of more desperate moral dilemmas, in which one marital duty seems in violent conflict with another. The peculiar value of these stories is that they are in a book, rather than in the confessional.

The editor has largely realized his hope that abstract notions of the essence of the marital act be filled in with empirical data. It remains now for legal and biological definitions of that act to be enriched by truly human and personal elements; and for logical concepts of natural law to have their deductions checked against the realities of life. Thirteen cases do not make a thorough, scientific study, but they do indicate the need for further investigation of the facts and the personal factors involved in this critical problem. Few sympathetic pastors will find the book controversial—or even new. But it is timely.

Taciturn God

The Journal of Jules Renard. Translated by Louise Bogan and Elizabeth Roget. George Braziller. $6.

by John P. Sisk

AT THE turn of the century Jules Renard was a novelist and playwright of distinction who wore the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, was elected to the Académie Goncourt and served as mayor of his home town. Daudet called him "the most perfect artist I know," and Sartre has said that directly or indirectly he is "at the origin of contemporary literature." Nevertheless, to most American readers Renard remains unavailable and unknown. To judge from this book, selected from a journal that spans twenty-four years and runs to over twelve hundred pages, he deserves a better fate.

Like most of the great journal-keepers, Renard thinks of himself as engaged in an only pseudo-private enterprise. To the expected reader he says, "I tell you my intimate life, as I see it, all true." It would be a mistake, however, to think of him as a latter-day Rousseau, and equally a mistake to think of his journal as a thesaurus of gossip about the great and near-great among his contemporaries, "as the Goncourts' too often is." The intimacies that matter most to him have to do with his relentless pursuit of the truth about his writing, about his parents, about peasants, about death and God. He knows that such a pursuit will be offensive to many people, and he knows also that if it is conducted too self-consciously it will prove false.

Renard is pre-eminently a realist, which is to say that at his best he is a man heroically embattled with the corrupting rhetoric of his world. A definitive announcement appears in the third year of the journal: "It should be forbidden, under penalty of fine or even imprisonment, for a modern writer to borrow similes from mythology, to talk of harps, of lyres, of muses, of swans. Storks might pass." It anticipates that famous and equally definitive passage in *A Farewell To Arms* in which Frederic Henry expresses his disgust with swans of rhetoric and his preference for storks of reality.

Renard's realism is given characteristic expression in his unillusioned fascination with the peasant. The

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peasant, as Renard not unsympathetically views him, is a figure completely denied the comforts of myth and sentimentality: he neither likes the country nor looks at it; he does not see the rich man's hardness of heart as a defect; he is so badly off that to romanticize him is only to add insult to his misery. Renard is equally uncompromising in his presentation of his mother and father, two fantastics who might have emerged from the fiction of the American South.

With the funeral of Verlaine early in 1896, death becomes an increasingly prominent subject in the journal. Soon Renard's father commits suicide, and thereafter haunts his son's imagination ("There is lead in my life: the buckshot of my father's death"). His brother Maurice dies of a heart ailment, as Jules was himself to die in his mid-forties, and his mother falls into a well and drowns. His pen develops a funeral touch, he confesses to a taste for walking in cemeteries, but discovers that "as soon as one has looked it in the face death is gentle to understand." Yet he knows that death is the void, an absolutely clear view of which is intolerable.

Instead, the anti-clerical Renard pursues God after his fashion, caught between his realist's fear of illusion and his conviction that "who has not seen God has not seen anything." Ultimately for Renard, style, reality and God prove inseparable. The style he aspires to ("as clear as the eyes of a spring morning") can compensate in some measure for the illogic and opacity of reality, and in some measure even conquer it. But God is like reality: enigmatic, neither clear nor simple. To the questing realist, God manifests Himself as deficient in style and uncontrollable by style. "God, so much mystery—it is cruel, it is unworthy of you," he writes, remembering his mysterious father. "Taciturn God, speak to us!"

What Wallace Fowlie has said of the recently published selections from Julian Green's journal can be said of this book: it is unfortunate that a work of such importance must be so drastically abridged. It is nevertheless a fascinating sampling, so arranged that a sense of the intimacy of the whole man is conveyed. The fact that the journal is no longer able to offend many people is itself a measure of how successfully its author was once embattled.

Leonard Woolf's Autobiography

Beginning Again. 1911-1918. By Leonard Woolf. Harcourt, Brace. $4.95.

by Alice Mayhew

LEONARD WOOLF's autobiography is interesting on a number of counts, not the least his penchant for finding himself in the middle of the action, so that his account of his five years at Cambridge, the Crown Colonies, the center of the Bloomsbury, Fabian, and Labour circles gives an across-the-board view of British society, which Woolf, writing now in his eighties, has been in a

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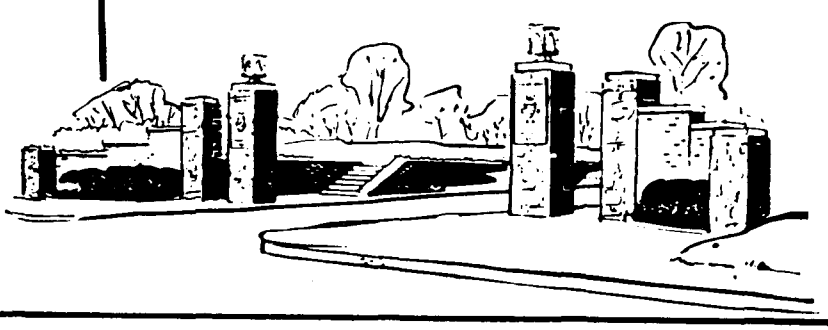

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unique position to observe. The present volume, the third, deals with the years just preceding and during the First World War. Woolf had just come back from seven years as a colonial officer in Ceylon (Volume 2, *Growing*) harboring a distaste for colonialism which was related to the nascent political liberalism that thrust him into the Co-operative and Socialist movements. He fell in love with the dazzling Virginia Stephen and married her.

During these years Virginia Woolf had the second of the four radical breakdowns that wracked her life and finally ended in suicide, and so a part of this volume is dominated, as the Woolfs' life was for almost two war years, by Virginia's mental agony, and Leonard's stalwart support of her. His account of her insanity is dryly, plainly given; his theories about the connection between genius and insanity are not at all interesting. It is clear, however, that it was due to him that Virginia survived as long as she did, both as a woman and as a writer. Beautiful, morbidly shy, manic-depressive, intensely scrupulous, there was "something in her appearance which struck passers-by as strange and laughable," and yet all her own glamorous and intellectual circle, even the egocentric Bernard Shaw, were a little in love with her.

It was during this time that what was to become the Bloomsbury circle was born, and Woolf, taking the whole thing more literally than most, tells us that it drifted into being when a number of friends, most of whom had known each other at Cambridge, came to live in that section. Bloomsbury became a by-word for inside chic for a couple of decades, and as a symbol of the closed circle, it attracted some amount of dislike, becoming even a term of abuse. Angus Wilson called it a late Victorian heresy, a "mysticism of godless common sense," and Frank Kermode remarked that its ethics had become decadent between Cambridge and London—"the corruption of an elite had become the generation of a clique." The inside charge comes from one of the members. John Maynard Keynes, an activist like Woolf, noted that the Cambridge disciples

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of Mr. G. E. Moore had accepted his religious attitudes (the "divine" voice of plain common-sense) but rejected their moral consequences, stranding themselves thus in an ethics of aesthetics and introspection.

In the first volume of his autobiography *(Sowing)*, Woolf had described how G. E. Moore's *Principia Ethica* had removed the veils for his generation of strong-minded young rationalists, ". . . substituting for the religious and philosophical nightmares, delusions, hallucinations in which Jehovah, Christ, and St. Paul, Plato, Kant, and Hegel had entangled us, the fresh air and pure light of common sense." This tall order accomplished, the Cambridge Apostles (which included Lytton Strachey, Thoby Stephen, Desmond MacCarthy) saw themselves as builders of a new society, pursuing truth and beauty.

Later on, as "Bloomsbury," however, they became rather arbiters of taste and mode, *An,* if not *The,* Establishment (though a liberal one), and susceptible to the exclusivism which provokes a negative response from those outside the club. The cool blast was reversely mirrored by those within. Woolf refers consistently and pettishly to the "incorrigible philistinism" of the rest of England and implies that it was only anti-intellectualism and poor taste that was responsible for Bloomsbury's unpopularity.

Nonetheless, confounding Lord Keynes, Woolf himself got involved in political action and found more to life than Bloomsbury. He was active in the Co-operative movement, wrote on politics for *The New Statesman* and *The Nation,* became a liberal (small "l") and a Socialist (large "S"). It is a very endearing fact about Woolf that one taste of spare-time philanthropy was enough to convince him that there was some "destructive disease in the social organism which could not be touched by paternalism, or charity or good works." Rejecting afternoon charities, he became a reformer.

During these years the Woolfs bought a printing press and started the Hogarth Press, which made a considerable contribution to British publishing. Commencing with two

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stories by the Woolfs themselves, it eventually brought out Katharine Mansfield, T. S. Eliot, E. M. Forster, Gorky, Freud, and a long list of distinguished authors.

It must be added that the first and third of Woolf's volumes provide considerable glamour in their casts of characters. The Stracheys, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry, Desmond MacCarthy, Clive and Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, the Asquiths, float through Cambridge and/or Bloomsbury, along with certain political, theatrical and aristocratic individuals who aspired to the avant-garde. In the wings, the older generation—Shaw, H. G. Wells, Henry James, as well as the Fabians and Laborites, Ramsay MacDonald, and the oddball Webbs, Sidney and Beatrice ("in all her long impersonality," as Virginia noted).

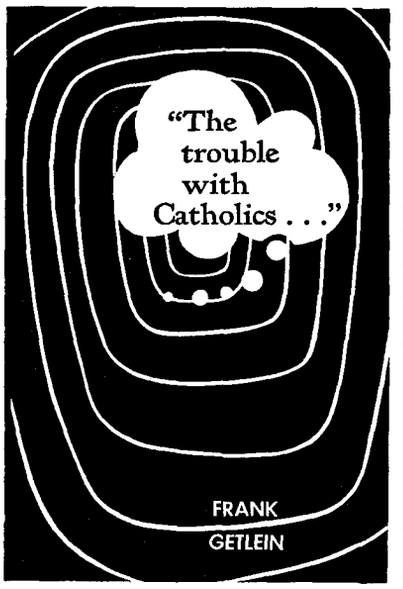
Still, Leonard is only able to tell us, for the most part, how charming he found his friends; he doesn't really tell us anything they said or did that made them so. Occasionally there is a vivid portrait; usually, however, it is left to Virgina's quotes, her novelist's eye and shattering honesty to get us close to the character. Woolf's record of his own life will no doubt be continued, but these early interludes are worth reading—especially volumes one and three, the Jewish boyhood and the Establishment.

Only Funny

A Mother's Kisses. By Bruce Jay Friedman. Simon & Schuster. $4.95.

by David Segal

ORDINARILY it is only good manners to judge a book on its own merits. However, when the book in question follows a brilliant first novel, comparisons become inevitable. Bruce Friedman's first novel, *Stern*, was deservedly a great critical success. Stern himself was a considerable achievement. Faced with a great range of disequilibrium, from crabgrass to anti-Semitism, from an ulcer to a dog that led him by the wrist the long way home, Stern never quite coped, but he never completely lost his balance. Friedman was hailed as the creator of a Jewish Everyman, but he had accomplished more than



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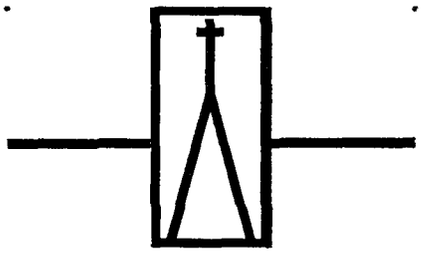
that. He had created a Jewish individual, whose implications reached far beyond the usual novel of Jewish life. The book is funny, and tender, and perceptive. Unfortunately. *A Mother's Kisses* is only funny.

It is very funny, and if it had been Friedman's first novel would have been an occasion for rejoicing. I smiled at something on almost every page, and laughed often. However, if *Stern* is funny in the direction of Chaplin, this book is funny in the direction of Bob Hope. Everything depends on timing, and turn of phrase, nothing on characterization or story. There is no movement of plot—the two main characters remain frozen in the same relation to each other from the first page to the last. These two are a son—gawky, adolescent, sensitive, dreaming — and a mother—shrill, brisk, vulgar, cocky, sexy, and a sure-fire laugh getter. She controls Joseph's life by an artful combination of self-pity, bull-headedness and boast, and she controls the rest of the world the same way. The trouble is, she does not exist at all; she is all rhetoric and cartoon.

She is Ma Goldberg blown up and done funny. Love is the weapon, the world is the enemy, and the family is the citadel. She is the culmination of all the jokes with the punch line, "Eat now, talk later." But that is all she is. Friedman takes his conception from the music hall and the soap opera, and he leaves her there. His comic imagination is marvelous for the broad stroke, but is not up to the distortion that illluminates.

There is only one scene in the book in which his conceptual ability is working at the same level as his verbal facility, and that deals with Joseph and his father. This is odd, because as in all versions of this myth of Jewish life, the father is dim to the point of non-existence. The father takes Joseph to work one day. "His father stopped at the corner to buy a newspaper and said, 'I buy a paper here.' In the subway car he said, 'I usually stand at this end and hold on to a strap.'" In the shop he introduces Joseph to his boss, then says, "'The fellow I'm going to bring over now, I'm the boss of him.' The fellow comes over and says, 'Hi, kid. I work for your dad.'" In the subway, going



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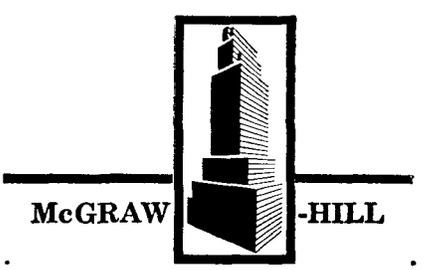

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home, the father says, " 'Now is when I read my paper.' " It is very terrible, and very true.

The trouble with Joseph's relationship with his mother is that it is not terrible enough, or true enough. They circle each other, but nothing happens. They play out a sexual pantomime but the final explosion does not occur. If they had been permitted to move from caricature to humanity the book could have had a culmination that would justify it. Some symbolic way should have been found for them to devour each other, or go to bed with each other, or both. Instead, having got Joseph into college, and gone with him, his mother finally goes home. Joseph yells to the receding train, "You're not great at all. I never enjoyed one second with you." But of course the mother can't hear, and the reader no longer cares.

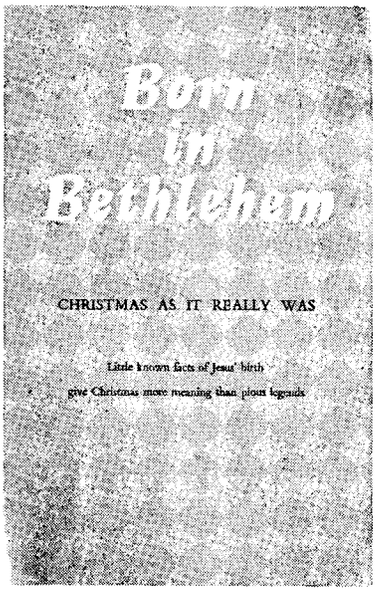
A Feel for Time

The Short Throat, The Tender Mouth. By Doris Grumbach. Doubleday. $3.95.

by Michele Murray

THE TEMPTATION to take refuge in generalizations about The Novel only too frequently besets the poor reviewer. Before him sits *this* novel, neither great nor dreadful, but stubborn and particular, awaiting its quota of praise and blame, and how lovely the grassy by-ways of his own opinion suddenly appear! The *Zeitgeist* beckons—criticism on the cheap.

College novels, for example, some bland, some witty . . . so much to say about them . . . except that *The Short Throat, The Tender Mouth* does not quite fit, alas, although a college novel in truth . . . and once again we are brought back to the singular, to Doris Grumbach's second novel, following her first novel of great interest, *The Spoil of The Flowers.* In that novel, Mrs. Grumbach demonstrated real skill in handling a large number of characters without falling prey to fictional elephantiasis. With delicacy and care, she told us the relevant information about each character, displayed her in a characteristic posture, then picked up another character to repeat the per-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formance, weaving a pattern into which everything would fit. Small, neat and consistently interesting, it was more than a competent first novel.

In her new book (title courtesy of Chaucer, but a poor choice, for all that), Mrs. Grumbach uses the same technique until the final section, but her subject has broadened and deepened, her cast of characters become more complex, and what was successful in the first book is less so in the second. Indeed, so much is wrong with the choice of technique that the book, despite a subject of much potential depth, finally fails almost completely.

And yet, having said that, it remains to say more, and that in praise of both the conception and the intelligence that supports it. The novel is set in Washington Square College of New York University in 1939, a period that seems to belong to the dim reaches of history, so far have we moved in twenty-five years. Mrs. Grumbach recalls it for us, not with nostalgia, but with scrupulous reconstruction of the feel of the times—the campus radicalism with its mixture of idealists and crude miniature Stalinists, the pervasive poverty of the students, the menaces of Fascism and war.

The possibilities of that time and that place are indeed rich. But Mrs. Grumbach has written a book of some 181 pages—why? Such brevity allows only for a skimming of the surface, a look at a few ripples, and no stirring at all of the underground pools. The characters are conceived with originality—a Southern girl of pathetic plainness, and literary ability; an embryonic poet with homosexual inclinations; a middle-aged lady professor of Middle English and her young lover, a bitter, radical New York Irish boy; overprotected Stanley and the rich girl he worships, who plays at rebellion, then goes further; stuttering Suker with his love of art whose parents are so committed to their various radical causes that they have no time for their son; an ancient actress. But so many in so few pages! The pity of it is that they fade into stereotypes after promising more, squeezed as they are into such small space.

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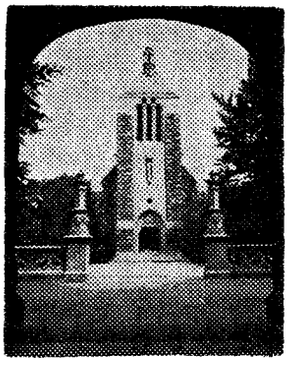

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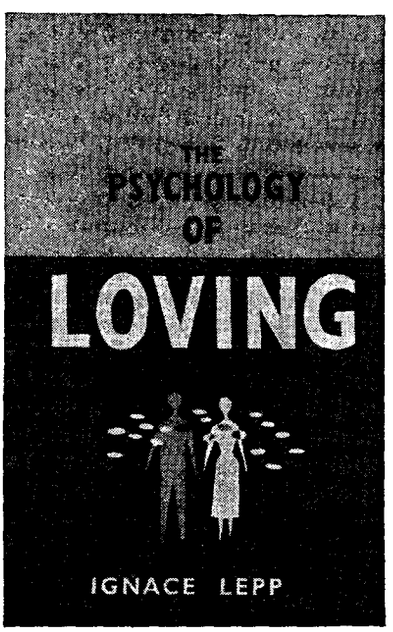

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Then, too, there is no center of interest in the book, only indications of a possible theme which are not sustained, until the final section, when Paul, the young poet, abruptly takes over in a first-person narration—and that, too, is a technical flaw, the sudden switch of narrative mode without any previous preparation. The action becomes melodramatic as Mrs. Grumbach tries to tie up all her story ends in so few pages, and the last remnants of credibility are swallowed up in the rapid summaries and flaw speeches which are intended to complete the action. The final impression, then, is of a novel heavy with promise that ends up by being too short because the author did not explore her subject or her characters with the thoroughness the material cries out for. Half-realized, it is less than half-alive—and could have been much more.

Papal Pageantry

The Popes. A Concise Biographical History. Edited by Eric John. Hawthorn. $15.
The Chair of Peter. By Friedrich Gontard. Holt. $10.95.

by John Ratté

WELL BEFORE Leopold von Ranke turned what was for Lord Macaulay a properly sympathetic, and for Lord Acton, a *too* sympathetic eye upon the panoramic history of the papacy, men have been aware that the history of the popes is both a history of Christianity, and a history of the total development of the culture of western Europe.

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the pathetic popes of the pornocracy of the 10th century, crabbed in history between mother-mistresses and Roman mobs, the personal tragedy of a Pius XII faced with the reality of Nazism and the myth of the balance of power, the sudden magic of a John XXIII, the opacity of a Paul VI—is living proof of Romano Guardini's contention that "Christ lives on in the Church, but He lives as crucified. One almost ventures to use a parable and say that the imperfections of the Church are the cross of Christ."

Two obviously pre - Christmas books (or non-books, if that category has a religious subdivision) recall the history, and challenge its relevance in the era of *aggiornamento*. The co-operative volume of Catholic authorship, *nihil obstat* etc., is serviceable and historically reliable, if something less than controversial in tone, style, and format. A series of short, matter of fact, yet vaguely triumphalist biographies are structured into larger groupings by short historical surveys based on chronological and geographical divisions. The book is handsome, it must be said: the type is distinguished, the illustrations refreshingly honest: *historical* material (catacomb paintings, coins, busts, etc.) in sections of plates, stylized "ecclesiastical" portraits in the two-column text. A good gift, if not a great book.

Friedrich Gontard's book is a shady venture—and not because of its lack of official sanction. Who is the man? Why are there holes in the thin paper, why is the type unevenly inked and jumpy? Were there, in the original German, footnotes which made the treatment less theologically and even chronologically jerky? Are the translators responsible for a style which ventures occasionally on the surrealistic? Why is no qualitative distinction made in the plates between *historical* and merely artistic (non-period) illustrations? There is considerable excitement in the text of this long and discursive work; however, it bids fair to be the papal non-book of the season.

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Well Aimed Barbs

The Trouble with Catholics. By Frank Getlein. Helicon. $4.95.

by Jean Holzhauer

ONE OF the troubles with Catholics is their striking absence of humor, in print, at least, about themselves. The lack is not surprising when one considers the unsophistication of most of their teachers and their self-elected compulsion to get themselves and their knotty problems taken seriously, not only by the rest of the world but by each other.

Much as one appreciates the new look in world Catholicism, one cannot help noting that today's Catholics, like their forebears, tend to go on—and on and on—explaining. The sheer weight of all this deadpan discussion is in itself rather funny, but it is never purposely presented so. Its net effect is to make the most devout reader throw up his hands, from time to time, and mutter, "Oh, for the love of heaven, who cares?"

Now, to repair the deficiency, along comes Frank Getlein with an extensive lampoon as intentionally as it is successfully amusing.

His readers know Mr. Getlein, author of several previous books, art critic for the *Washington Star* and the *New Republic,* and sometimes contributor to THE COMMONWEAL, as a merciless assessor of the social scene and a genuinely intelligent and witty writer. In *The Trouble with Catholics* he presents his best effort to date, having simultaneously hit his stride and found his length (224 pages).

Very little that is ridiculous in the contemporary Catholic scene escapes this book.

The drafting by celibates of the rules for playing the marriage game; the loony feats of illogic employed in defending "rhythm" while condemning contraception; the Catholic college graduates equipped to convert, by syllogism, the man on the next bar stool, but unable to find the right bar; the outcries against "secular materialism" by churchmen hooked on counting parking lot spaces and building-fund receipts; the Church art, Victorian and mod-

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ern, that presents "Christ as Ronald Colman"; the ubiquitous professional Irish, as unassimilated today as American Negroes and only slightly less conspicuous; the badly-educated pastors who are nonetheless treated like authorities on every subject from international politics to infant care—these are only a sampling of Mr. Getlein's riddled targets.

Doubtless some of his readers will be more annoyed than amused by all this levity. Even our more advanced thinkers take their religious views very solemnly indeed, and that Catholic "maturity" we all keep watching for seems thus far to correspond only to early adolescence: the period in human life when every problem is an earthquake, when innovation is suspect, and when the most sympathetic smile may be interpreted as a cruel jeer.

Hypersensitive readers, therefore, should keep in mind that Mr. Getlein is himself a Catholic and has suffered with the rest of us the ludicrous defects and pretensions that he here so urbanely attacks.

REVIEWERS

Garry Wills, the author of the recently published *Politics and Catholic Freedom* (Regnery), is an assistant professor of Classics at Johns Hopkins University.

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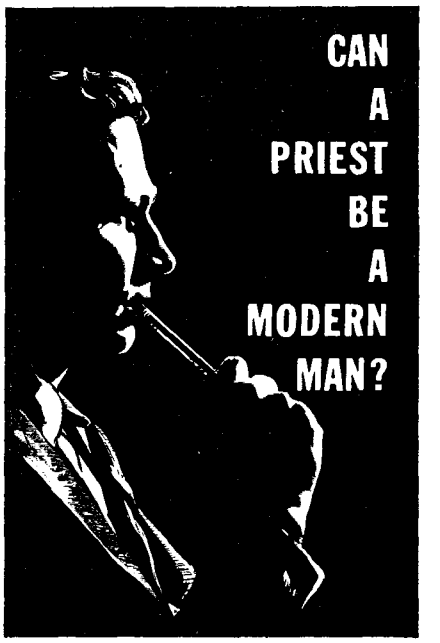

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